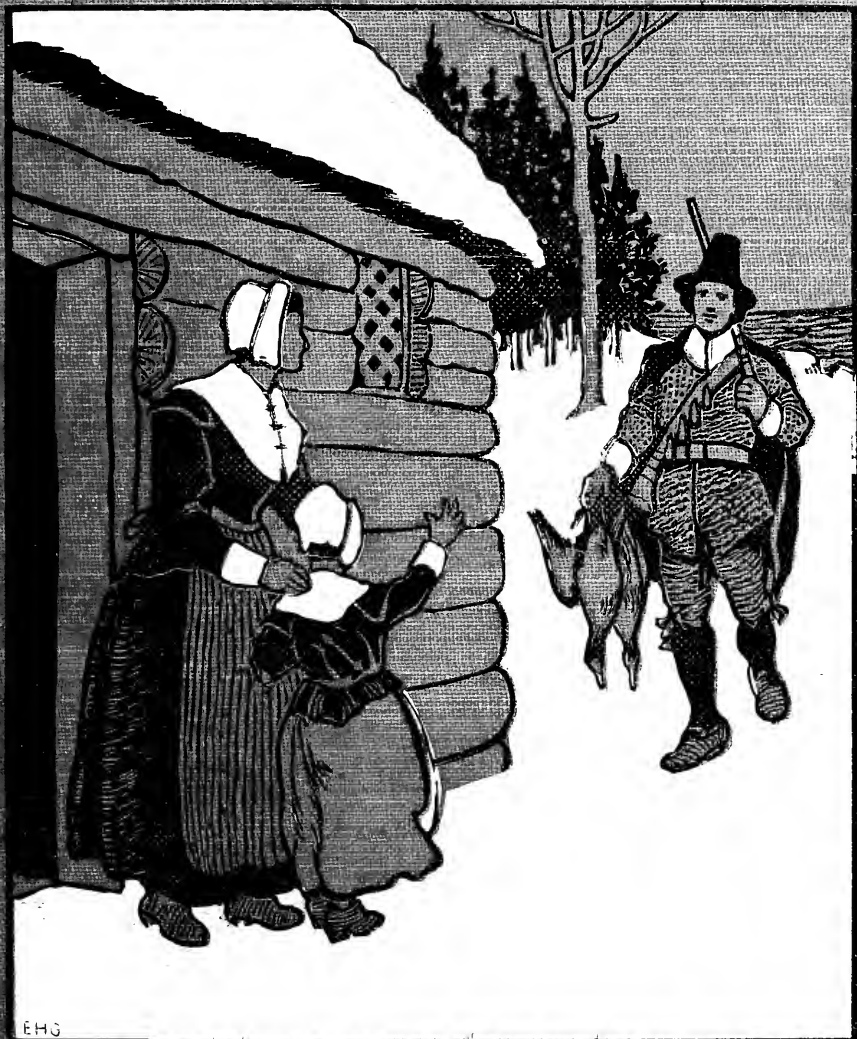
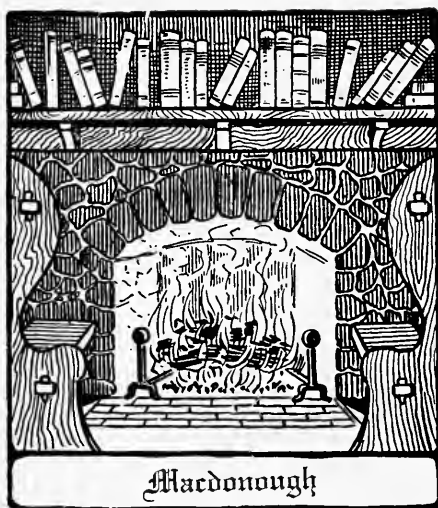


OUR PLYMOUTH FOREFATHERS



E.H.G.

CHARLES STEDMAN HANKS





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OUR FIRST THANKSGIVING DAY

Our Plymouth Forefathers

The Real Founders of Our Republic

By

Charles Stedman Hanks

Author of

"Hints to Golfers," "Camp Kits and Camp Life," etc.



Boston

Dana Estes & Company

Publishers

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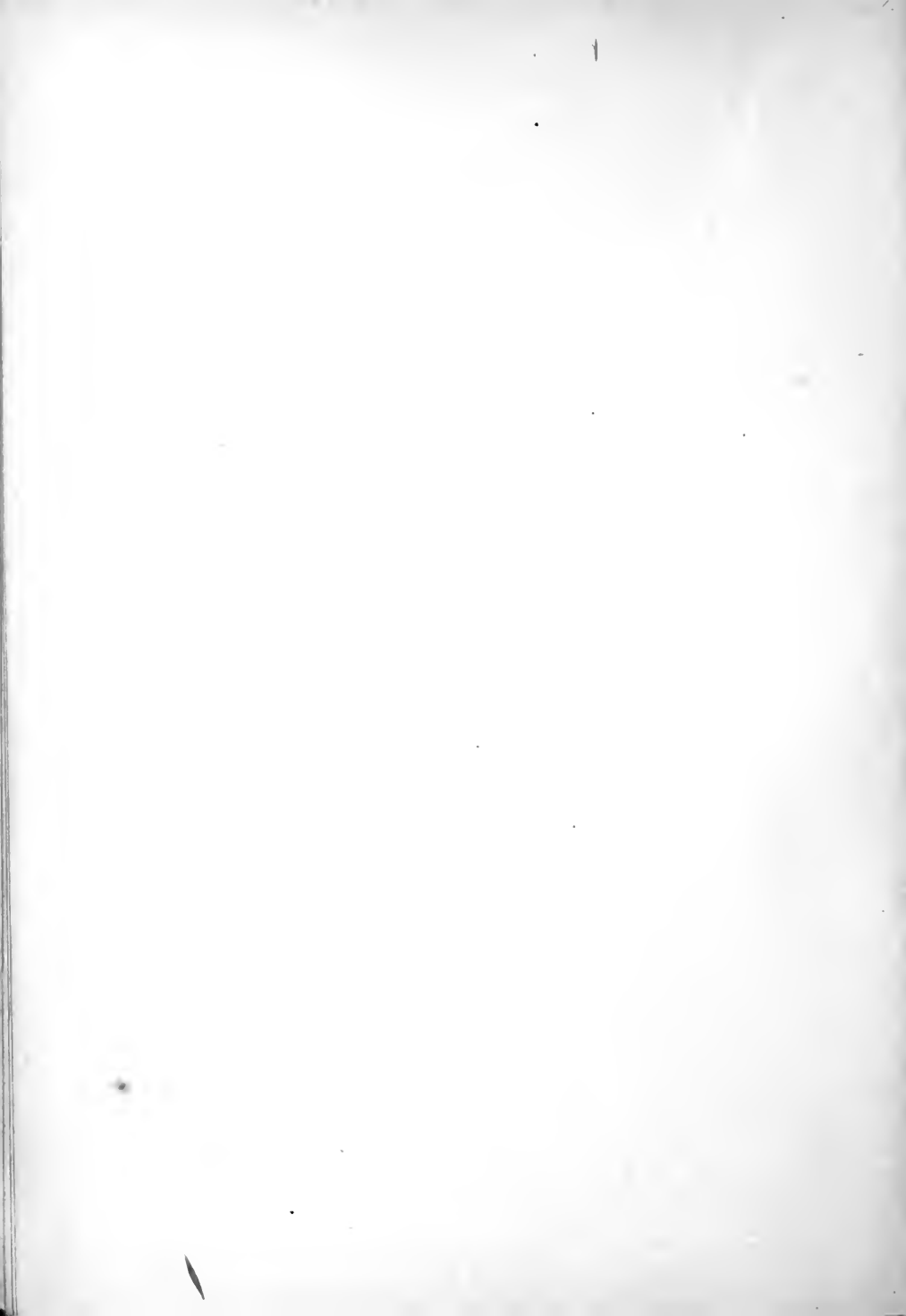
To the memory of my father who devoted to his fellow-men a long life of earnest labor, and who left as an inheritance to his children a rare example of an upright, progressive man guided by a New England conscience.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Hon. William T. Davis, of Plymouth, Massachusetts, and to W. P. Greenlaw, Esq., the librarian of the New England Historical Society, for correcting the manuscript of this book,—two men who have made as thorough a study of the daily lives of our Plymouth forefathers as any historians now living. I wish also to acknowledge my indebtedness to Edmund H. Garrett, who has given much time to studying from the view-point of an artist the section of country where our forefathers lived, and who has visited with me many of the localities which he has illustrated. I wish also to acknowledge my indebtedness to Charles Scribner's Sons in allowing me to use the illustrations on pages 119, 151, 158, 171, and 210; to Houghton, Mifflin & Co. for the illustrations on pages 244 and 245; to Little, Brown & Co. for the illustrations on pages 137 and 200; and to the John A. Lowell Company for the illustration on page 54.

CHARLES STEDMAN HANKS.

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OUR PLYMOUTH FOREFATHERS

THE REAL FOUNDERS OF OUR REPUBLIC

CHAPTER I

THE ENGLISH SEPARATISTS

For conscience' sake the Pilgrim Fathers gave up their homes in England, their kindred and the friends of a lifetime, and settled in Holland, that they might worship their God according to their interpretation of the Gospels. For conscience' sake, twelve years later, they deliberately separated themselves from the past of their race, and emigrated to America in order to devote all their energies to carrying out their ideals, hoping that in a new country their own form of worship would be firmly established and the world be benefited. It was this impetus of religion which was behind everything they did, their faith, piety, and confident trust in a superintending Providence making them the type of men they were.

At the time they sought an asylum in Holland, England had just passed through a great convulsion,



YEOMAN OF THE
GUARDS

brought about by the Protestant Reformation,—the greatest and most beneficial movement that Europe had ever known,—and this, with the invention of movable type for printing, had brought into prominence that heretofore non-essential factor, the people, who for centuries had allowed others to do their thinking. Some of these religious reformers, unwilling to accept with the mother country the English Church as a substitute for the gorgeousness of Popery, had taken a further step in the progressive movement, and demanded the right to worship as they believed the Bible taught. They were few in number, but their intensity of purpose was so strong that they were persecuted for non-conformity. Their fundamental principles of Christianity differed but little from the Christianity of the Established Church, although in ecclesiastical government, and in the personal relation that they believed existed between God and man, they were far apart, those of the Established Church believing that their Church was indissolubly connected with the State which was its head, and the reformers believing that the Church was independent of the State on the ground that a personal communion existed between God and any who came together in Christ's name, whenever and wherever they met. This doctrine of Christianity, which was far-reaching in its logical results, finally became the basis of Congregationalism. The foundation of their creed was their interpretation of that

passage of the Scriptures which said, "Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them." To them this meant that there should be no bishops, no authority of one body of men over others, and no dogmas to hamper freedom in religious thought or religious worship. Together with this belief in a simple outward form of worship there was also the spiritual side, which was an absolute faith that through the Holy Spirit all who followed Christ's doctrines, as expounded in the Scriptures, would be guided and protected. Because they had insisted upon this form of worship, they had fled to Holland, where they established a democratic church, and, because of the spiritual belief which went with it, they later emigrated to America, where they became the real founders of a great Republic.

Two hundred years before this time the seed of Protestantism had been sown in England when John Wyclif, an Englishman as conspicuous for his courage as his learning, claimed that every man had not only a right to an individual judgment in theological matters, but also a right to question the most cherished dogmas of the Church of Rome. For boldly proclaiming that the Church, in granting temporal power, was going beyond her rights and jeopardizing her influence, for denying transubstantiation, for disapproving auricular confession, for opposing the payment of Peter's pence, for teaching that kings should not be subject to prelates, and for translating the Bible and circulating it

among the people, Wyclif had been excommunicated by the pope, and his followers became known as Lollards, or "babbler."

For a century after this there was no outward sign in England of any organized movement in ecclesiastical reform, as the people, who had been disciplined for ages to mistrust their own faculties in religious thinking, were slow to give up what seemed to them a safe anchorage for the unauthorized guidance of unconventional reformers. On the Continent, however, the seed sown by Wyclif had fallen on fertile ground, and in 1415 and 1416 John Huss, of Bohemia, and his coadjutor, Jerome, of Prague, (made reformers by reading Wyclif's books) paid the penalty of advocating his doctrines by being burned at the stake. Their testimony had resounded throughout Europe, and before the century ended Savonarola, the Florentine monk, had become another martyr at the stake with the result that his beliefs soon afterwards became the basis of the doctrines of Martin Luther, of Wittenberg, of John Knox, of Edinburgh, and of John Calvin, of Geneva.

In Germany Martin Luther had demanded a reformation in ecclesiastical government, and had finally succeeded in overthrowing Popery. In consequence his followers had been given the name of Protestants. The same wave of purification soon reached England, and Protestantism, becoming a political factor, was made the religion of the country. This had not been

done from any religious sentiment, or because of any protest against the scandals in the Church of Rome, but because Henry VIII., who was then king, saw that by denying the authority of the pope, and making the State the head of the Church, would be able, not only to divorce himself from Catherine of Aragon and marry Anne Boleyn, but also to get possession of the vast wealth of the monasteries then flourishing in all parts of his kingdom.



HENRY VIII.

Although a large majority of the people were still Roman Catholics, the king was able to carry his diplomatic Protestantism through Parliament; for, the country having hardly recovered from the War of the Roses, there was still a fear that, as Catherine of Aragon was the king's deceased brother's widow, his issue by her might be considered illegitimate, and cause the country to be again plunged into a civil war. Only one reign separated the people from the desolating War of the Roses, and the Royal Council, being convinced that it was its first duty to guard against another civil war, believed the danger of separating from Rome preferable to the disasters that might follow if the king should die with heirs whose legitimacy the nation could question. It was this feeling that

made a large body of the Roman Catholics in Parliament willing to vote to throw off the yoke of Rome. The others who favored this political makeshift were a body of men who had long been opposed to the growing arrogance of the Roman prelates, and were ready, now that the words of the Bible were becoming known to them, to vote for the change on religious grounds. For different reasons, therefore, Roman Catholics and Protestants voted together, the Act of Supremacy becoming a law, and England practically a Protestant country, in 1534.

Making the king the head of the Church had brought with it no changes in the doctrines of Christianity, and only a few in the elaborate ceremonials and the gorgeous vestments of the Roman service. It was merely Papacy with the pope left out. Neither had it given to the people a better clergy, for the king, in carrying out his pious design of abolishing the monasteries and sequestering the revenues, often allowed a Roman Catholic prelate to accept a bishopric, and often turned these wealthy possessions over to his favorites, leaving it to them to look after the religious instincts of his subjects. The result was that in many parishes no religious services were held, while in others were clergy who, not having been educated for religious work, were incompetent to have charge of parishes. In making the change to Episcopacy, the king had been obliged to make concessions to both Romanists and Protestants: to conciliate the Roman Catholics, he

prohibited the teaching of all Lutheran doctrines: to conciliate the Protestants, he ordered the Bible to be translated and a copy placed in every parish house in England.

Under this new order of things, men now found themselves in a strange dilemma, it being as dangerous to believe too much as too little, since Protestants were dragged to execution for refusing to believe in the transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, Catholics for denying the king's supremacy. The change, however, brought with it one great privilege—the free use of the Bible by all; but, in making the leaders in the Church dependent for support and preferment upon the king and subsequently upon Parliament, it encouraged servility, and undermined that independence of spirit which was essential if the Church was to have any real force and influence in the land.

Opposed to this new form of ecclesiastical government were scores of honest Roman Catholics who still refused to change the religion under which they had been brought up, and scores of honest Protestants who were trying to bring to the front a real reformation in religious doctrines. It was these latter people who were known as "Puritans," a name given to them by the Roman Catholics, who slurringly said that these people thought themselves like the Novatian sect of old, who had called themselves Puritans because they prided themselves upon being more godly and

more pure than other people. Most of these Puritans were yeomen, who, finding they could not bring the Church to their views, had no scruples in accepting the union of Church and State and a partial reformation and bishops. There was also in England a few who neither shared the hopes nor approved the methods of the conforming Puritans. This party despaired of bringing the Church to thoroughgoing Protestantism, and repudiated the interference of the State in Church affairs. It was these people who later became known as Separatists. All were originally Puritans whom nothing but the strongest convictions of duty would have impelled to break with the National Church. In their protest against sacerdotalism, in their non-conformity and in their theology, they were both alike. The fundamental difference between them was that the Puritans advocated a national reformation while the Separatists believed that only through individuals could the nation be reformed. This difference was because the Puritans looked upon the Church as a national institution, while the Separatists maintained that any society of men who believed and obeyed the words of Christ became a Church of Christ, and that for the national well-being there must be within the State self-regulating Christian communities without civil power. Hence there were, in England, at this time four sects: the Catholics or adherents to the Church of Rome who were still powerful in many localities, and the

three different sects of Protestants; namely, the Anglicans, or conformists, who believed in the Established Church, the Puritans or non-conformists who differed from the Anglicans in not believing in the spiritual rites and observances of the Church, and the Independents or Separatists who refused to sanction the founding of a national church on the ground that it was contrary to the word of God.

During these days of religious upheavals, when a few men in England were contending for what the Puritans afterwards loved to call "The Crown Rights of Jesus," there were really no great leaders, like Luther and Knox and Calvin, but there was one dauntless preacher, Hugh Latimer, under whose stern rebuke the headstrong Henry VIII. quailed. Under the impetus of Latimer's teachings there came a silent working towards a simpler faith, based upon the teachings of the New Testament without any additions by bishop and clergy, and with it the hope that there would be a simpler policy in church government, which should do away with the institution of ecclesiastical courts, canons, and ceremonials. To these men the Bible had now become the charter of their religious beliefs, and in their interpretation of it neither church nor priest held exclusive rights or privileges. Christianity without coercion and persecution, and with individual freedom of mind and conscience, now became the watchword of thousands of Protestants upon whom the light of the Reformation was dawning, the question

at issue being "How does Christ make known His will,—in historic institutions or in the consciences of individual believers?" If the answer be, "In both," then came the question, "When the two are antagonistic, must man give way to the institution or the institution to man?" In answering it, many ignored



EDWARD VI.

the superstitions of the times, and rejecting the binding authority of the Church, as Luther and Knox and Calvin had already done, determined to walk in the ways of Christ as they had interpreted the Bible. The result was that there were in many different places secret gatherings, in order, as the Pilgrim Fathers afterwards said, "to see further

into things by the light of the word of God." Soon there was an organized separation from the Established Church, and meetings were held in different homes to worship according to the tenets and doctrines that these people had laid down for themselves.

Upon the death of King Henry VIII. in 1547, his son by his wife Jane Seymour came to the throne as Edward VI., "the boy king." During his reign the Bible, as translated by Tyndale and Coverdale, became familiar to the English people, and brought about a new awakening of spiritual life. When this wealth of Hebrew

literature became implanted in the English mind, the Latin Mass was abolished for the English Prayer Book. Upon the death of Edward in 1553, after a reign of six years, Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII. by Catherine of Aragon, became queen. She was a firm Roman Catholic, and during her reign of five years all her persuasive influence was used to bring the country back to Roman Catholicism. Up to this time the spiritual principles of Protestantism had been obscure, but, with the issue now fairly made, men took sides for the decision of the real question. This resulted in a reaction in favor of the old form of worship, for a majority of the



QUEEN MARY

people had never at heart given up their old ceremonial religion, and the reformation of Henry VIII. had brought so many scandals into the Church that nearly every one was anxious to get back to the rule of Rome in church affairs. Not only was the Bible now taken from the English churches and English homes, but a cruel persecuting policy was carried on against all Protestants, whether Conformists or Non-conformists; many were driven into exile to the Continent, hundreds were thrown into prison to languish for months, perhaps for years,

during which time they were unheard and unconvicted, while other hundreds died on the gallows. But when a number of Essex men were burned at one time at the stake in Smithfield, and the people found that they had a queen who believed Roman Catholicism taught her to burn her subjects, the English blood was stirred,



QUEEN ELIZABETH

and the martyr fires which she kindled made England again a Protestant country.

The people as a nation now accepted the English Church as a reality. In France the massacre on St. Bartholomew's Day—when a Roman Catholic mob was let loose upon the Protestant Huguenots—had just occurred, and it had produced in England such a

profound sensation that the hatred of Popery increased a thousand-fold. The Puritans within the Church were now advocating the abolition of every Romanist practice and a clean sweep of all sacerdotal vestments. During this trend of thought, Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, became queen in 1558, and, seeing the uselessness of opposition, adopted the policy of reconciling, so far as possible, her Catholic subjects to the Established Church, and of making that Church politically strong rather than religiously pure. Under the bold and rigorous policy of John Whitgift, her archbishop,

all again had now the privilege of hearing and reading the Bible, but all who did not accept the doctrines of the Church of England, as set forth in his three famous articles published in 1584, were vigorously persecuted. Because those of the clergy who did not subscribe to these tenets were suspended, loyalty to the Church meant to many, intellectual dishonesty. Honesty of conscience therefore often meant a sacrifice of homes and the means of a livelihood, and suspensions, in nearly every case, meant men of intellectual ability.

The men who carried on this persecuting policy were themselves Protestants, many of whom had suffered persecution under Queen Mary, and some of the laws which they were forced to carry out—although originally aimed against the Roman Catholics—were so sweeping that they included all forms of worship except those in the Prayer Book. The most radical reformers, inflamed by these persecutions, now became Separatists, and, flatly denying the royal supremacy, asserted the right to set up churches of their own with pastors and elders, independent of queen and bishop. Others, who had previously been willing to accept from the clergy their interpretations of the Scriptures, now began to read and interpret it for themselves, and in many an honest mind this meant that a doubt arose whether the ceremonies and practices of the Established Church conformed to the teachings of the New Testament.

As early as 1576 the Separatists had become a recognized sect. This had been largely brought about by Robert Browne, one of the most advanced defenders of religious liberty in his time. He came of a wealthy and powerful family, and, when graduated from Cambridge in 1570, began preaching "to satisfy his duty and his conscience," as he said. From his reading of the New Testament he had become convinced not only that the Christianity of Christ and His Apostles was a simpler religion than that of the Established Church, but that it was the right of any Christian people to propagate the Christian faith in their own way. Establishing himself in Norwich, he began an energetic campaign for the New Testament principles, which he believed he had rediscovered, and, as this resulted in persecutions, his little church in Norwich emigrated to Holland. From there Browne and some of his followers went to Scotland, which they found almost as hostile to them as England. Afterwards Browne returned to England, where he was for a time imprisoned. Later he became reconciled to the Established Church, and was made the rector of a small parish church, where he remained until his death.

To the men who followed his doctrines the name of "Brownists" was given, and, because of the problems which he discussed in his pamphlets on reformation, he became the founder of Congregationalism. The principles for which he argued he had expounded forcibly, and had appealed to the people not to wait for

civil power or ecclesiastical rulers to authorize a reformation, but to begin it themselves wherever they were. "The Kingdom of God," he wrote, "was not to be begun by whole parishes, but rather by the worthiest, and that to compel religion, to plant churches by power, to force a submission to ecclesiastical government by laws and penalties did not belong to the Commonwealth, nor yet to the church," his sharpest arrows being turned against those clergy who would not take any responsible step without the consent of the civil government.

To the majority of the Puritans many of his doctrines seemed too radical, and as their aim was not to leave the Church, but to remain in it and control it, they looked with dread and disapproval upon this extremist who seemed likely to endanger their success by forcing them into opposition to the Crown. Had the Church of England listened to his oracles, she would have been spared many bitter humiliations and many dark passages in her history, yet for this young prophet she had no answer but prison walls.

The desire for freedom of worship was now spreading throughout the kingdom with startling rapidity, especially through the eastern counties. This was partly attributable to the influence of the Walloons, or the Protestant cloth-weavers, who had been induced to come over from the Netherlands a few years before this time on account of their skill in weaving, and had settled in Canterbury, Colchester, Norwich, and vicinity. Everywhere now men and women were separating

themselves from the church of their fathers for the sake of this more simple faith. Because so many were unwilling to assent to creeds and articles which they only partially believed, because they would not promise to observe rubrics which they habitually ignored and because they would not vow allegiance to an "ordinary" which they had no intention of fulfilling, the parish churches became deserted, and so many "conventicles," or secret gatherings, were held that, when Parliament assembled in 1586, Sir Walter Raleigh startled the House by declaring that he believed there were "near twenty thousand Brownists in England."

The pamphlets of Robert Browne were still in circulation, and the Separatists now had a champion in a man less brilliant, but with greater strength of character. This man, Henry Barrowe, who defended the principles of Separatism by the final argument of martyrdom, was also a man of high social standing. In his college days at Cambridge he had led a reckless life, and after graduation had turned his attention to the law. One Sunday he had gone with a companion to hear a well-known Separatist, John Greenwood, preach the doctrine of Separatism, and the words which he had heard so impressed themselves upon him that new thoughts began to rankle in his mind. Impetuous by nature, this libertine youth, who was well known both in London and abroad, changed at once his course of life, and began a preciseness of living which was commented upon with wonder by all his acquaintances.

His study of the New Testament carried him beyond the doctrines of Robert Browne, and soon he was openly advocating the principle that the doctrine of toleration was the logical sequence of Separatism. It was a new doctrine, and the leaders of thought were not slow to see that in the development of the liberties of the people it was of the greatest importance to have ecclesiastical power separated from civil authority. Not long afterwards Greenwood was arrested for expressing his Separatist views, and Barrowe on visiting him was also locked up without even the formality of a warrant, his name and character being too well known for the officers to allow him to escape because of a mere technical breach of the law. For five years both men were imprisoned, but during that time they succeeded in writing a large amount of manuscript, which was printed surreptitiously by their friends. They well knew the risk they were taking, but religious convictions had become dearer than life, and in 1593 both gave proof of these convictions on the gallows.

Two months after their martyrdom another well-known Separatist, John Penry, died the same death for the same cause. He had been brought up a Roman Catholic, and educated at both Cambridge and Oxford. Because the spiritual condition of his native country of Wales had kindled his indignation, he made a scathing condemnation of non-resident clergy, declaring that a clergyman who never preached was

not a true minister of Christ. Later he became a Separatist, and not only fearlessly preached his beliefs, but with a private printing-press printed the doctrines of Separatism. At this time, from some unknown quarter, tracts suddenly began to appear, showing the abuses of the Church and the oppressions of the day. They were full of personalities, their impertinences were grotesque, and the scandals of the Church were broadly portrayed. Every one was reading them,—the court, the politicians, and the peasants. The scholars of the university, concealing them under their gowns, laughed over them in secret. Each was signed “Martin Marprelate,” and John Penry was believed to be the author, it being known that he had a printing-press, and that he had long been spreading broadcast religious literature which had a burn and a glow. Thus, while the bishops were pursuing their grim policy of persecution for the eradication of dissent, and were crowding the jails with Separatists and Non-conformists,—the jail being the one weapon at their command,—they became conscious that the people of the land were laughing at them. In their dilemma they were forced to make an example of somebody, and Penry died on the gallows for advocating liberty of worship and the freedom of the press. In this struggle against ecclesiastical tyranny Barrowe, Greenwood, and Penry had been making English history, and with their deaths Congregationalism received its first great impetus.

CHAPTER II

CONGREGATIONALISM

The martyrdom of Barrowe, Greenwood, and Penry had made more than one Englishman ponder over a religion that made men willing to vindicate its principles with their lives, and, as a consequence, many Puritans in London and in the eastern and southern counties became converts to the advanced doctrines and formed Separatist churches.



THE BREWSTER HOUSE

Soon afterwards the Separatists in northern England organized, and in 1605 a church was founded in Gainsborough, which was the centre of a strong Puritan faction in that section. Here, under the pastorate of John Smith, a graduate of Cambridge and a gifted preacher, services were held in a hall in the manor house of William Hickman, whose wife, Rose Hickman, had become an ardent Sepa-

ratist. Later, probably in 1606, because of persecution, John Smith and his church fled to Holland, where civil and religious liberty was being hammered out at a time when the clang of the anvil was scarcely heard in any other part of Europe. That same year William Brewster, who lived in Scrooby, and



LADY ROSE HICKMAN

William Bradford, of Austerfield, a small village just north of Scrooby, formed a church at Scrooby, where they worshipped in Brewster's house, the congregation soon becoming so large that the service had to be held in the stable near by. It was this church which, outliving all persecutions, became the church from which the Congrega-

tional churches of to-day have sprung, and it was these Scrooby worshippers who later became known as our Pilgrim Fathers, and the real founders of our republic.

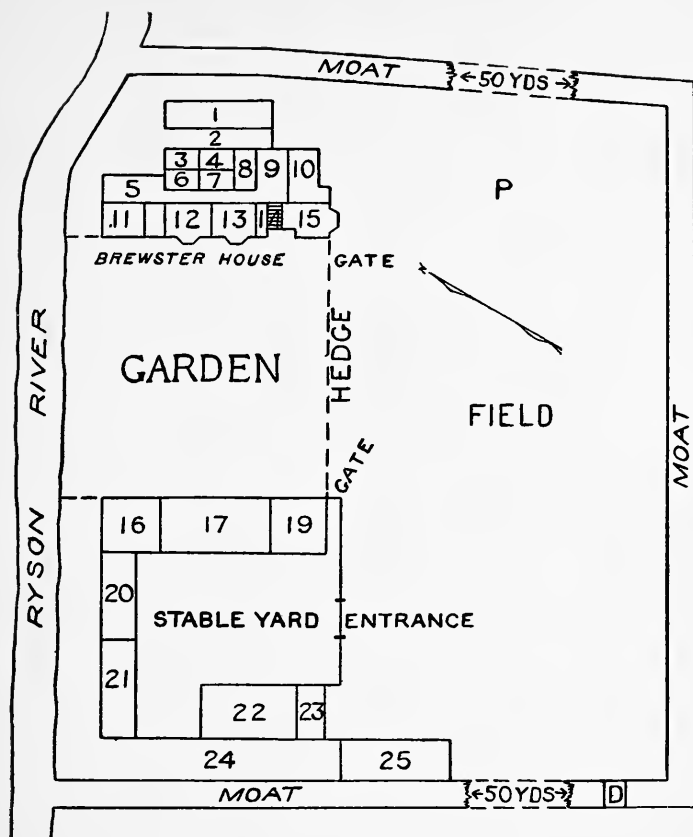
As the Brewster house was on the outskirts of the village, just off the Great North Road, it was particularly adapted for secret gatherings. It was on the bank of a little stream and so surrounded on the three other sides by a moat that it could only be reached by a drawbridge which led to the village, the house being a part of the manor estate of the Archbishop of York.



THE BREWSTER HOUSE (EAST SIDE)

Within this moat, which enclosed four acres of land, there was also an ancient palace, a massive building of great antiquity, which was abandoned and fast going to decay. This palace "was a grete manor place within a mote all bylded of tymbre, saving the front of the haulle that is of brick. The juner conite bylding is of tymbre and is not in compace past the 4 part of the utter conite." In earlier days it had been used by the different archbishops of York in going from one part of this diocese to another with their splendidly equipped retinues. Here Cardinal Wolsey, when Archbishop of York during the reign of Henry VIII., found shelter after he was disgraced by his king whom he had served so long, and here later the king himself once spent a night on his way north.

Adjoining this palace was the house in which Brewster was living at this time, and, being a newer building and still in good condition, it became the manor house of the estate now that the palace had gone to decay. For many years it had been also used as one of the government post-offices for official business, and, because it was on one of the four great highways of the kingdom, the bailiff was brought into frequent contact with distinguished persons travelling on affairs of state. Here Brewster's father had been government postmaster and bailiff, and here, soon after Queen Elizabeth came to the throne, Brewster was born and spent his boyhood. After studying for a time at Cambridge, he received under William Davison, Queen



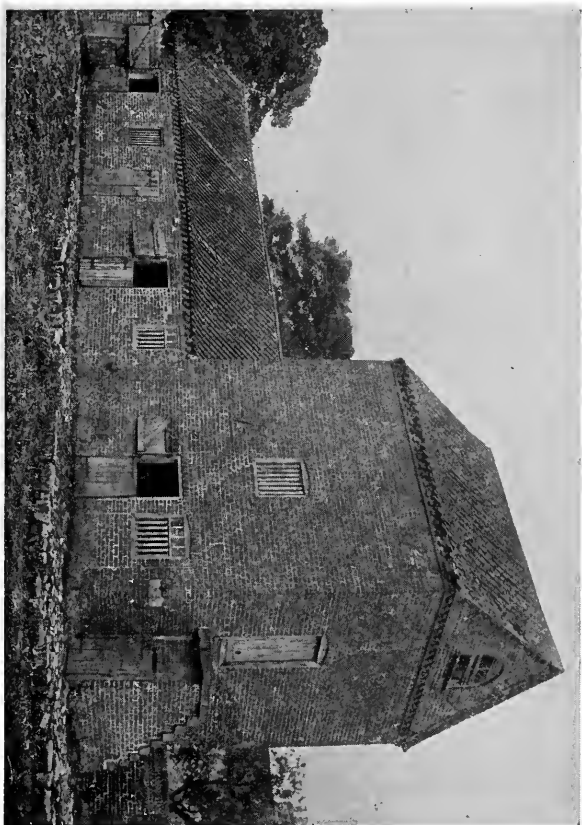
GROUND PLAN OF THE SCROOBY BUILDINGS

- | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Hennerly. | 11. Milk Pantry. | 19. & 21. Cow Barn. |
| 2. Passageway. | 12. & 13. Rooms. | 20. Shed. |
| 3. Store Room. | 14. Entrance Hall and | 22. Hay Barn. |
| 4. & 7. Wash Room. | Stairs. | 23. Butchering Room. |
| 5. Scullery. | 15. Living Room. | 24. Stock Yard. |
| 6. Pantry. | 16. Horse Stalls. | 25. Cart Shed. |
| 8. & 9. Kitchen. | 17. Cow Barn used for | P. Palace. |
| 10. Carriage Shed. | Church Services. | D. Draw Bridge. |

Elizabeth's Secretary of State, an appointment which took him to London, where he saw much of the life at court. While living there, he had accompanied Davison on an embassy to Holland, where his work was so highly esteemed that a brilliant political future seemed before him. Not long after their return, however, came the fall of Davison, whom Queen Elizabeth had made her scapegoat in order to evade her own responsibility in signing the death warrant for the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots. This ended Brewster's political career, and he returned to Scrooby. Soon after this his father died, and he received the appointment of postmaster which his father had held before him—an office making him at once the principal man in the village and the most prominent member of the village church.

William Bradford, who was associated with Brewster in the church at Scrooby, was then a boy of seventeen, and twenty-three years Brewster's junior. His home in Austerfield, three miles north of Scrooby, was with one of his uncles, his father having died when he was little over a year old, leaving him a comfortable inheritance. Like his father, Bradford's two uncles were prosperous yeomen and of good social positions in their neighborhood, so that Bradford had inherited more than the ordinary ability of a country boy and had probably received more than the usual village boy's education.

At the head of this Scrooby church was Richard



THE SCROOBY STABLE

Clyfton, a grave and fatherly man, who because of his godly life and the enthusiasm of his faith had made many converts to the Separatists' belief. For several years he had been the rector of the village church of Babworth, seven miles south of Scrooby, but had lost his position because he had refused to subscribe to all the canons of the English Church, which were then being rigorously enforced. Later he joined the Separatist movement, and, when the Scrooby church was organized, became its spiritual adviser.

Soon after the organization of the church he had as his colleague John Robinson, a man who had always lived in that section and who had such nobleness of character and breadth of intellect that his name later became well known on two continents. Robinson was then thirty-seven years old, with unusual analytical ability in theological matters and singularly gifted in civil affairs. Upon leaving college, he took orders in the Established Church, but from the first had scruples about the vestments and ceremonials insisted upon. These scruples finally led to his suspension, and this suspension to a separation from his church. Joining the Separatist movement, he became pastor of a church in Norwich, where "he won men's hearts to himself as well as to the truth." Because of his influence it was not long before Norwich men began to be excommunicated for "resorting with and praying with John Robinson, a man revered by all the city for the Grace of God in him," and, when he

himself began to be harassed with fines and imprisonment, he believed it was for the best interest of the church that he should give up his pastorate. The Scrooby church being organized soon after this, he joined that body because its doctrines appealed to him as more in accord with his understanding of the Scriptures than those of the other Separatist churches.

With such men as these for leaders, it was certain that the Scrooby church would not be left long in peace. Before these persecutions began, however, there had developed between Bradford and Brewster a friendship which, both in the Old World and the New, was to be deepened by common hardships and common sufferings, the individuality of each in the New World powerfully imprinting itself upon the American people.

Before the Scrooby church was organized Queen Elizabeth had died, and James I. became king. Upon his accession to the throne eight hundred of the clergy presented to him their famous Millenary Petition, asking that a reform be made in the ecclesiastical courts; that the superstitious usages sanctioned in the Prayer Book be done away with; that there be a more rigid enforcement of the Sunday laws; that there be more trained preachers; that the surplice and the sign of the cross be dispensed with in baptism; and that the ring be used in the marriage ceremony. In reply to this petition the king had said to his bishops, "I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land," and one of the bishops solemnly

assured the king that these words were spoken under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

Under Bancroft, his archbishop, non-conformists were now hunted and persecuted on all sides, and finally, when it became known to the authorities that William Brewster was a Separatist, his commission as post-



JAMES I.

master was taken from him, and a warrant issued for his arrest, the warrant being "against William Brewster of Scrooby, Gentleman, for Brownism." Of the Scrooby Separatists, "some were taken and clapt into prison, others had their houses watched day and night, and the most were fain to fly and leave their habitations and the means

of their livelihood." William Bradford was also wanted by the king's officers, and the tradition is that once, while the officers were searching for him, he escaped arrest by being hidden in a copper cauldron in the cellar of his house.

Most of the members of the Scrooby church, remorselessly hunted down and with little hope of living peacefully in their own land, determined to cross the sea to Holland where there was religious freedom for all, and where many Separatists had already fled from London and other places. Although it was a country

where they must learn a new language and where their only means of livelihood would be by traffic and trade, to which, being yeomen and farmers, they were unaccustomed, "they were willing to sacrifice all of their inheritance which it was possible for man to sacrifice in order to make their new plan of life control their actions." They knew that it was as unlawful to flee as it was to remain without conforming, and, since all the ports would be closed against them, it would be necessary, if they were to get away, either to bribe the captain of some vessel to take them over or to pay exorbitant rates for their passage, as if they were felons instead of men with a peaceable religion fleeing from causeless oppression.

After several ineffectual attempts to escape by twos and threes, these people in October, 1607, having decided to go in a body, secretly chartered a vessel to take them on board at Boston, the nearest seaport town. We know how the captain of the vessel betrayed them after all were on board, how the authorities took from them their money and most of their personal property, and then brought them before the Boston magistrates, who, after detaining them a month, put seven of the leaders, including Brewster, into the prison cells of the old Guild Hall to await trial at the higher court, and sent the others back to Scrooby. In this Guild Hall one can still see the cells on the basement floor where Brewster and his companions were imprisoned, these being reached from the court-room above by a winding

staircase through a trap door. Of the trial of these men in the higher Court of Assizes no record has ever been found, but we know that the following spring, when another attempt was made to get away, Brewster and the others were already back in Scrooby. The probability, therefore, is that, because their imprisonment was making converts to their faith, it was thought the better part of discretion to have the cases dismissed and the men released.

They were now obliged to use the utmost caution in planning to reach Holland. All were ready to leave at a moment's notice, and, when a Dutch sea captain from the coast of Zeeland in Holland was found at Hull, willing to take the risk of shipping fugitives from their native land, they made a bargain with him to take them over. The place from which they planned to sail was a desolate spot on the Lincolnshire side of the Humber River, near its mouth, where the river was nearly five miles wide, Holland being about due east three hundred miles away. The nearest seaports were Grimsby, eleven miles to the south, and Hull, nine miles to the north. It was an ideal place for their rendezvous, for the projecting coast line at this point hid both seaports. Thornton Abbey, the nearest village, was five miles inland, and, although there were a few houses at Killinghome, four miles away, both villages were hidden from the shore by a low range of hills. The shore between Hull and Grimsby was largely a marsh meadow, but at the place which they had picked



MOLLIE BROWN'S COVE

out there was "a large comone a good way distant from any towne." This was a tract of a thousand acres of upland, having on the Grimsby side of it a narrow inlet, later known as Mollie Brown's Cove. This place was thirty-six miles from Scrooby, and as far as Thornton Abbey there was a good highway, with no large town beyond Gainsborough. It also had the advantage of being a place which could be reached by water, for the river Idle, flowing through the meadow east of Scrooby, emptied into the Trent, five miles below Gainsborough, and the Trent into the Humber, eighteen miles above this cove.

As unusual precautions were necessary to avoid discovery, it was decided that the women and children, with what household goods were to be taken, should be sent by water and that the men should go by land. Existing records show that the boat with the women and children quietly sailed after dark down the Idle, and that, when the boat had gone, the men started across country in twos and threes, resting at daybreak in out-of-way places until it again became dark enough to make it safe to travel. This journey probably took three days, and as, on account of the tides, the trip by water would take about the same length of time, it is likely that all met at Mollie Brown's Cove on the same day.

Here the Pilgrim Fathers, for the last time in England, suffered persecution; and, although there is no memorial to them here, Brewster and those with him de-

cided at this place the destiny of the American nation. We know that upon their arrival they waited in vain for the vessel which was to take them to Holland, and that, when night came the boat with the women and children, which had been beating back and forth in the river, anchored in the cove, and the men went back to the foot-hills and camped under the trees. We know that the next morning the men anxiously paced back and forth along the shore, watching in vain for their vessel; that the boat with the women and children became aground in the cove, as it was then low tide; that the vessel was finally seen coming down the river, and that, after dropping anchor, the ship's tender was sent ashore. We know what followed: that some of the men were at once taken aboard; that the tender had started back for its second boat-load when foot soldiers and cavalry, followed by the people of the neighborhood, were seen coming over the hills; that the tender at once returned to the vessel, and the captain, fearing arrest, weighed anchor and stood to the eastward with a fair wind for Holland; that the women and children, still in the boat aground in the cove, seeing their husbands and fathers sailing away, and knowing that they themselves would be imprisoned, were in great distress; and that, during the excitement, some of the men on the shore escaped along the river-bank, while the others remained to give such aid as they could to the helpless women.

It was a critical moment in the lives of these people.

Once before had they tried to escape and failed, and in that superstitious age there might well have been a wavering in their minds whether, after all, there was not a divine disapproval of this contest which they seemed to be making against the inevitable. It was one of those times of indecision when strong minds control the weaker ones, and we know that Robinson and Brewster prevailed upon all to accept without flinching this new persecution. Little did they then imagine that the stand there taken was to make their cause famous, and that their example, thirty-five years later, was to bring about for religious liberty a civil war which was to end in the beheading of England's king and the rise of a Puritan as dictator.

At Mollie Brown's Cove the future history of America hung in the balance, those few hours on the Humber being as important in shaping its history as the embarkation later made from Delft Haven, the compact signed in the cabin of the *May Flower*, or the landing at Plymouth Rock,—all so often pictured, but in comparison mere incidents in the lives of these people. We know how the day ended,—that they were put under arrest, and only given their liberty after being hurried from place to place and turned over from one official to another, who each in turn was glad to be rid of them. Then, some from one place and some from another, all finally succeeded in reaching Holland, thus breaking the link which bound them to the past.

CHAPTER III

THE PILGRIMS IN HOLLAND

After reaching Holland, these Scrooby emigrants decided to settle in Amsterdam, partly because it was a seaport city where they could easily get employment and partly because the followers of John Smith and other Separatists, all self-exiled for the same cause, were there. From

those who had sailed in the Dutch trading vessel and were already located here, they learned that the vessel had hardly been out of sight of England

when a gale had driven it far up the coast of Norway, where it had several times almost foundered in the heavy seas. Once, even the captain and crew had given up all as lost; but after fourteen days they had finally reached Holland, without money or change of clothing.

However, in the new life and the enjoyment of peace with liberty the past was quickly forgotten. Other ties as well as those of religion now bound them together; for now each knew the calibre of the others, and memories of their persecutions for soul-freedom were lost sight of in the triumph of their cause.



ROBINSON'S HOUSE

Although they were in a country where they were free to worship as they chose, their resources were small, and they were obliged to make their homes in the poorest quarter of the city, some living on an alley four feet wide leading from Barndesteeg Strasse into another alley twelve feet wide where most of the others lived, this wider alley leading into Achterburgwal Strasse. Their homes have long since disappeared, but the same old Dutch architecture remains, and the very echoes of the place, faint and far as they are to-day, recall these people in their conical-shaped hats, broad white collars, flowing sleeves, and knickerbockers, always content with their lot and willingly working as 'longshoremen or in the shipping houses or for the tradespeople.

The Protestant wave against Roman Catholicism long before this time had swept over Holland, and in 1579, when Amsterdam adopted the reformed religion, the Catholic churches were given over to advocates of the new faith. In one of these churches such of the followers of Robert Browne as had remained in Holland now worshipped, but, dissensions arising in 1600, some of these Brownists left the church and worshipped in the warehouse still standing at the corner of the two alleys where the Pilgrims, ten years later, lived. With these men John Smith and his followers, when they came to Amsterdam, allied themselves, and with them the Scrooby emigrants now worshipped.

The theological views of these worshippers had not

yet crystallized, and between the Brownists and the followers of John Smith contentions were common. Arminius, an Amsterdam man, was then preaching radical doctrines in the University of Leyden, and, when John Smith began to advocate doctrines not unlike them, the Brownists expelled him and his followers from the church. These exiles then settled in Leyden, where, under the influence of Arminius and of Episcopius, who succeeded him after his death the next year, they lost their identity as a distinct religious body. The Scrooby people for a time continued to worship with the Brownists, but Robinson and the other discerning ones among them early saw that the Brownist faith was drifting further and further from their own doctrines, and they began to fear religious entanglements. Moreover, brought up as they had been in the country villages of England, they were not adapted to the life of a commercial city, where both the customs and the language were strange to them, and, as poverty had begun to tighten its grip upon them, it was decided, after a year in Amsterdam, to move to the university city of Leyden, for in that quiet inland place they would be more likely to obtain congenial employment. A few, however, remained in Amsterdam with Richard Clyfton, who had begun to believe in a less democratic form of church government.

Those who went to Leyden settled near St. Peter's Cathedral, once a Roman Catholic church, which with



ALLEY LEADING FROM BARNDESTEEG STRASSE



ALLEY LEADING FROM ACHTERBURGWAL STRASSE

the Reformation had become Dutch Reform. In a room opposite this cathedral these Separatists now worshipped according to the simple principles which they believed the New Testament taught. During the eleven years that they were here some were employed in printing-houses and book binderies, and others in the various trades carried on, a few of the better educated ones earning their living by tutoring students. Among these was William Brewster, who received more than the usual wage both as a proof-reader and as a tutor to the Danish and German students (some of noble families), and who devoted his leisure to printing in the English language books and pamphlets which explained the Separatist doctrines—doctrines so obnoxious to the Established Church that their sale had been forbidden in England.

So well were these people now grounded in the doctrines of Congregationalism that they had no fear of being warped by the dogmas of Arminius, for they had already stood the test in the controversy between the Brownists and John Smith. John Robinson, now their leader, had already shown marked ability in directing their civil affairs, and, having more than once successfully debated in public the soundness of their faith, had gained notoriety as a theologian and the respect of even the men of the University. The tradespeople of Leyden, too, were not slow in seeing that the religion of these men made peaceable, honest, and industrious citizens, and, as these Separatists soon grew

to be a body of considerable importance, the success of the settlement began to be known beyond Holland, and to attract to Holland, Separatists from all parts of England.

While here, they were joined by many who afterwards became prominent in America. Among these were Edward Winslow, a young man of leisure, who, while travelling in Holland, had become so impressed with their doctrines that he decided to settle among them, and Myles Standish, a soldier of fortune, who had come to the Low Countries in the army of Elizabeth. To Robinson, Brewster, Bradford, and these two men, not only a great nation, but the civilized world, owes a debt it can never repay. Each was a man of mark; the first, a deep thinker and a born leader of men; the second, a man of refinement, whose religious faith was so deep that no sacrifice was too great to make; the third, a man with executive powers that made him the head of the colony in America, and for many years its governor; the fourth, its ablest financier and a man whose great ability later became appreciated by the English government; and the fifth, a soldier whose courage and sound common sense more than once saved the colony from extermination by the Indians.

There is little to tell of their eleven uneventful years in Leyden. To assist in the increasing work of the church, William Brewster was made an elder, and every Sunday and twice each week John Robinson expounded the doctrines of their faith in their room-

chapel close by the house in which he lived. They had come to Holland soon after the beginning of the twelve years' truce between the Dutch and the Spaniards,—then the two great naval powers of the world,—and, now that the truce was nearly over, the Dutch government had begun active preparations for a continuation of the war. Everywhere were armed troops and the beating of drums, and with these military preparations going on there was the liability that all able-bodied men would be drafted. Because of this Robinson and the others felt that it was not a time to take chances, for, if they were scattered, the work already accomplished would go for nothing; and, even if unmolested, there was the fear that they would be persecuted for their religion, should the Spaniards conquer the country.

None knew better than these reformers themselves that the world was not yet ready to accept their religion. To these men whose consciences had forced them to sacrifice everything for their religion, no project was too hazardous to undertake. It was a bold plan, however, which the leaders outlined when they decided that only in the western hemisphere, among a people unhampered by Old World prejudices would they be sure of freedom in their religious beliefs. As Bradford afterwards wrote, "They had great hope & inward zeall of laying some good foundation or at least to make some way thereto for ye propagating & advancing ye gospel of ye Kingdom of Christ in those

remote parts of the world; yea though they should be but stepping stones unto others for ye performing so great a work." There were also other reasons why a move seemed desirable. During the years they lived in Holland their children had been exposed to the contaminating influence of city life. The Sabbath, so dear to them, was openly violated; military enlistment was now a strong temptation to their young men; and they especially feared that their children by inter-marriages with the Dutch would eventually be absorbed by these people.

To the majority of these Separatists the plan of forming a colony in the western hemisphere seemed impracticable, not only because other colonies there had been unsuccessful, but especially because they lacked the money necessary to fit out an expedition. The judgment of the few, however, prevailed, and it was decided to settle either under the Dutch in South American Guiana or under the English in North America. The book which Raleigh had published in 1596, giving a glowing description of Guiana as a country of perpetual summer where everything grew in abundance, had had its effect upon them, but, after much discussion, they decided that it would not be advisable to live where the climate was so warm. There was also the fear that, should they settle in Dutch Guiana, the Spaniards might massacre them in the same way that the Huguenots had been massacred in Florida. On the other hand, they knew, if they planted a colony in North

America, there would be the liability of the same persecution they had suffered in England. Since, however, many believed that the king would grant them freedom of religion, it was determined to begin negotiations with the Virginia Company for a tract of its land near enough to the Virginia colony to get assistance in time of any danger.

Feeling that they were about to make a pilgrimage similar to those of the Crusaders to the Holy Land, and "that, even if they lost their lives in this action, yet they might have comfort in the same, and their endeavor would be honorable," they called themselves Pilgrims. For twelve years they had lived within easy sailing distance of their old homes, where they would not have been obliged to grapple with poverty, but their make-up was such that they never wavered, and they were now ready to make the new venture. Not only had the hardships which they had willingly accepted been fitting them for the American wilderness, but it had been developing in them that capacity for practical, economical, and thrifty work without which their attempt at colonization would have been a failure. Even better than they knew they builded. The persecutions and privations which had made their teeth come tighter together, and their hands shut closer, had been welding their determination for religious freedom into a determination to demand freedom in all things. The virus pricked into their blood by the Reformation was to make them

later proclaim that in America there should be no such condition of mankind as ruler and vassal, but that all men were created equals, and this virus did not run its course until the tea in the British ships had been thrown into the docks in Boston Harbor, and the Revolutionary soldiers had emblazoned on their shirt fronts "Liberty or Death." Such were the men who were to weave one more thread into the fabric of humanity—men of whom all now speak with reverent admiration as the Pilgrim Fathers.

The English domain which they were destined to colonize was already a well-known country. As early as 1574 English ships had begun making annual trips to the Grand Banks of Newfoundland for fish and in 1583 four hundred vessels of different nations were engaged there in fishing. In 1602 Bartholomew Gosnold had planted an unsuccessful colony on Cape Ann. Sailing from there across Massachusetts Bay, for the purpose of trading with the Indians, he had discovered Cape Cod, which he so named on account of the large numbers of cod-fish that he saw there; and, while he was planning to make a settlement there, his Cape Ann colony was abandoned. In 1603, Martin Pring of Bristol, had made a trading voyage to this same region, and in 1605, Champlain had visited the New England coast. In 1607, under the leadership of George Popham, a settlement had been made at the mouth of the Kennebec River, which was abandoned the following spring

on account of the severe winter. In 1609 this same New England section had been visited by Henry Hudson on his way to explore the river since called by his name; and in 1614, after twelve years of quiet life in England, Captain John Smith, formerly of the Virginia colony, with two ships and four English merchants had visited the section on a trading expedition. Already the French had made a settlement at Quebec; and, as early as 1616, English fish-curing and fur-trading stations had been established along the Maine coast, the Island of Monhegan being a well-known rendezvous for English fishermen. During the next two years several expeditions were fitted out in England for the purpose of exploring this New England coast, the most important one being that of Captain Dermer, who remained in the country nearly three years, spending several months on the Cape Cod coast and exploring Plymouth and Barnstable harbors, his explorations of Plymouth Harbor only preceding the settlement of the Pilgrims by about a year.

At this time the commercial company chartered by James I. to colonize English North America had been subdivided into two companies, the one known as the South Virginia Company, with headquarters in London, being granted all the southern part of North America; the other, known as the North Virginia Company, with headquarters in Plymouth, being granted the land from the latitude of New York

to the settlement at Quebec. In the grants to these two companies it was stipulated that there should be a hundred miles of vacant land between the two.

At the head of the Plymouth Company was Sir Ferdinando Gorges, whose company had started out with too little capital to enter upon schemes involving immediate outlays, and almost from the first it had sought to increase its income by leasing or selling portions of its territory. After a short existence this Plymouth Company, not proving to be a financial success, sold its proprietary interests to a new company, of which Gorges was the active member, this new company, which was known as The Council for New England, receiving in November 1620, a royal charter of all land from Long Branch, New Jersey, to the Bay of Chaleur, Nova Scotia.

Before this time, however, the Leyden people had sent two of their number, John Carver and Robert Cushman, to London, to negotiate with the South Virginia Company for a grant of its land. On account of the prevailing rivalry in colonization, the promise of a grant had been easily obtained; but from the king they could only obtain his personal consent for religious liberty without the authority of the royal seal. For this reason many in the church doubted the advisability of undertaking the expedition; but it was argued that, even if the king's promise of freedom in religion should be confirmed by a royal seal as large as a house floor, he would find

some way of breaking his promise, should he desire to do so.

Since most of them, however, believed that they would not be molested, Carver and Cushman were sent again to London to finish the negotiations, and to obtain a patent of land under as favorable conditions as possible. Moreover, they were to use their utmost endeavors to interest their English friends in their undertaking, in order to obtain the necessary money for fitting out the expedition, and to persuade London merchants to join the enterprise as a commercial speculation.

While these negotiations were being carried on, the leaders of this South Virginia Company had become divided into hostile factions and the rivalries which had sprung up prevented the completion of the negotiations for the time being. With matters thus at a standstill in London, negotiations were begun with some Dutch merchants who had a trading settlement at Manhattan, afterwards New York. These resulted in an offer to Robinson, not only to transport his congregation to their trading post, but to provide them with cattle, to give them protection so long as they needed it, and to allow the colony self-government in local affairs. These terms being satisfactory, Robinson asked an assurance of protection from the Dutch government, whose claims to the territory were disputed by England. While negotiations with the Dutch government were pending, Carver and Cushman

received a grant of land from the London Company and returned to Leyden with one Thomas Weston, a London merchant, who, with seventy other English merchants, had offered to advance the money necessary for the expedition, as they expected to make large profits from the fishing and fur trade. According to Weston's plan, a stock company was to be formed, in which the stock was to be divided into shares of ten pounds each; each emigrant to be allowed one share of stock as his interest in the property, and two days in each week to work for himself, then, at the end of seven years, a division of the colony's possessions and earnings was to be made among all the shareholders. The Holland government having, in the mean time, refused to give the necessary protection, these articles of agreement were signed. This copartnership, which was to cost the Pilgrim Fathers seven years of hard labor, was in reality their passage money. With negotiations completed, Carver and Cushman were sent back to England to arrange for the voyage and to receive the money subscribed by the London merchants. Meanwhile those who were to be the first emigrants began disposing of their property, in order to have money to invest in the enterprise.

Many Separatists in England now decided to join them, and one of their number, Christopher Martin, an Essex man, was asked to be their representative in making the necessary arrangements with Carver and Cushman. Unfortunately, while these details were

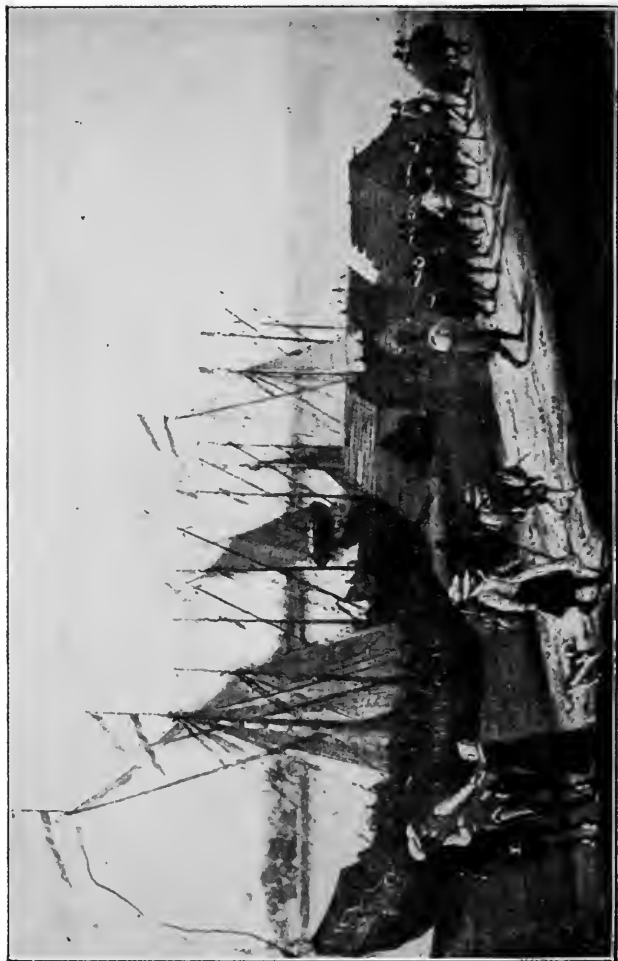
being settled, some of the merchants who had agreed to take stock refused to become stockholders. To keep others from withdrawing, Cushman agreed with Weston that the part of the contract allowing each colonist to work for himself two days in each week should be stricken out, and that all labor should belong to the company. Meanwhile the *Speedwell*, a small sixty-ton vessel that had been bought and fitted out in Holland, lay at the quay in the little harbor at Delft Haven on the river Maas, two miles above Rotterdam, it being planned that after the voyage she was to be used as a fishing-boat. At length, everything being arranged, a pilot was sent from London to sail the *Speedwell* to England, and a letter was brought by him from Cushman, saying that the *May Flower*, a vessel of one hundred and eighty tons, had been chartered, and in a few days would sail from London to Southampton, where those going from Leyden would meet them. On account of the small size of the *Speedwell* only the strongest were selected as the pioneer Pilgrims, it being decided that John Robinson should stay with the greater number who were to remain in Leyden; that William Brewster should go over as the head of an independent church in the new colony; that Bradford, Winslow, and Standish should go with him; and that, if the experiment proved successful, then those who had been left behind should undertake the formidable voyage.

As the time drew near for the departure from Ley-

den, many came from Amsterdam to say farewell to these people embarking in an enterprise which all knew was to be a hazardous one, for all were anxious to both give and receive encouragement for their common cause. That summer day in August, the last day of these Pilgrims in Leyden, was spent in their little chapel in fervent prayer for guidance. To Delft Haven was an eight-hour canal ride, and many who had come to Leyden to say a last God-speed—? now journeyed as far as Delft Haven to share in the final leave-taking there. Here, as Winslow wrote, “they feasted us again,” and early the next morning all met on the quay, where John Robinson gave his last advice and his blessing.

It was a time of sadness, but with the sadness was the consciousness that these pioneers were giving up their friends from a sense of duty. As the Speedwell sailed out of the little harbor and down the river to the sea, tears were in every eye, both on board and on shore, and when John Robinson, falling on his knees, prayed with outstretched arms and watery eyes for their safety, all knelt around him. Even the Dutch strangers, attracted there from curiosity, did not try to keep back their own tears as they watched this parting which struck so deep into every heart.

It was a short voyage to Southampton where the May Flower, with the Separatists from London and some laborers sent by the London stockholders, was waiting. As the Speedwell was too overcrowded for



(From an old Dutch painting upon an oak panel)

THE EMBARKATION FROM DELFT HAVEN

a voyage across the Atlantic, many of her passengers were transferred to the other vessel. There were now no fears of persecution, as religious prejudices against them had lessened during their twelve years in Holland, but new troubles unexpectedly confronted them. Weston, who had come to see them off, now insisted that all should agree to the change which he and Cushman had made in the compact, and, when they declined to do so without the consent of those in Leyden, he refused to give them the hundred pounds necessary to get their clearance papers, and in anger returned to London. In this dilemma they were forced to sell most of their butter, oil, and shoe leather, besides many of the swords and muskets shipped for use in America, and in consequence were obliged to sail with an outfit too scanty for the voyage or for planting a colony. Little did they then appreciate the seriousness of being obliged to sail so poorly equipped, but in their casual mention of it, as a mere incident connected with their departure, we realize the exhausted condition of their resources.

CHAPTER IV

THE SETTLEMENT AT PLYMOUTH

1620

When the Pilgrims sailed from Southampton, they followed the southern shore of England. We know



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THE MAY FLOWER

that on both vessels many were seasick, and that at night, when the captain of the *Speedwell* said his vessel was leaking, both vessels put into Dartmouth Harbor for repairs. Ten days later a second start was made, but, when they were three hundred miles beyond Land's

End, the *Speedwell's* captain claimed that his vessel was unseaworthy, and both vessels sailed back to England and anchored in Plymouth Harbor. We know that most of those who had come from London now lost courage and gave up the voyage;

that others found their religious enthusiasm was not deep enough to withstand seasickness; and that among those who abandoned the expedition were Cushman and his family. We know that the now overcrowded May Flower sailed alone September sixteenth, 1620 having on board, besides the captain and the crew thirty-four Separatists, eighteen with their wives; twenty-eight children under twenty-one years of age; nineteen laborers and three maid-servants—in all a hundred and two emigrants. We know that when half-way across the Atlantic, for days during an equinoctial gale, the vessel sailed under bare poles, that at last she became so strained that she buckled amidships and sprung so many leaks that even the sailors became alarmed; that, when the deck was stiffened and the leaks caulked, “they committed themselves to ye will of God & resolved to proseed”; and that early one morning, to the great joy of all, sixty-six days after leaving England, Cape Cod was sighted. We know that, as their grant of land was far to the south of Cape Cod, they stood to the southward; that in tacking they found themselves drifting on to breakers among the shoals off the Cape, but were saved from shipwreck by a breeze which had sprung up in the afternoon; that they again changed their course, and sailed for Provincetown Harbor, which in the light wind they reached the next day, Saturday, November twenty-first and that, being once more safe, they “blessed the God of heaven who had brought them over the vast and furious

ocean, and delivered them from all its perils and miseries."

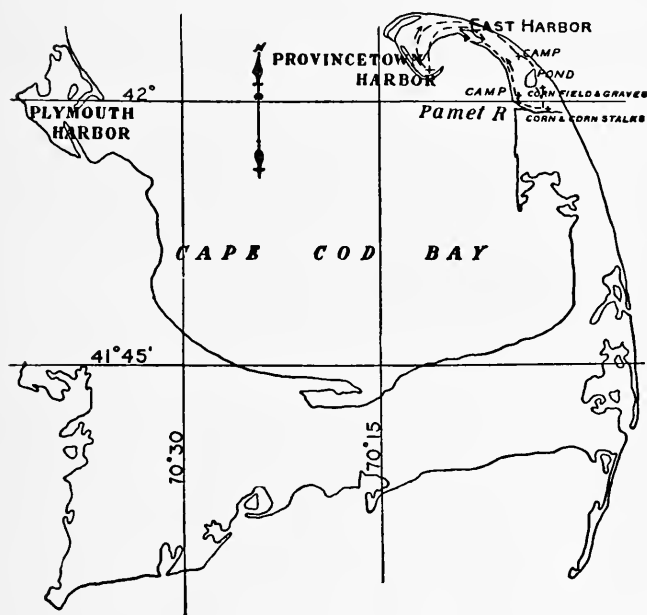
According to the arrangement made with the London Company the settlement was to be south of the Hudson River, on what is now the Jersey or Delaware coast. Because the charter of the London Company did not cover New England, some—probably the laborers—began advancing the idea that they were independent of any authority. To guard against any independent action being taken by these men, the leaders resolved to make a government for themselves, and accordingly, that same day in the cabin of the May Flower, forty-one of the fifty-three men entered into a contract memorable as the first recorded social covenant giving equal rights to all men. This compact was the basis of the laws of the infant colony, and became the foundation of the republican institutions of America. Later, by deliberate action, this compact became incorporated into a civil form of government which was the groundwork of America's future greatness. "The same day," wrote Winslow, "as soon as we could, we set ashore fifteen or sixteen men well armed, with some to fetch wood, for we had none left, as also to see what the land was, and what inhabitants they could meet of." On Sunday all remained on shipboard, where they held their customary services, and gave thanks to Him who had brought them safely through so many dangers.

Winter was now fast approaching, and, as scurvy and ship fever had broken out on the May Flower,

it was thought necessary to make a settlement at once. But because of the sandy soil it was out of the question to locate where they were. They knew, however, that somewhere near here Captain Martin Pring, when trading along the Massachusetts coast in 1603, had laid at anchor several months, where he had found a good harbor and fertile land. Therefore, unless a still better place were found within the next few days, they decided to locate at that place. On Monday, when they were ready to begin their search, Captain Jones, of the *May Flower* refused to cruise about with his vessel on the ground that he had no chart of the waters, and they then decided to use their own shallop, a small fifteen-ton boat. As Winslow wrote, "we unshipped our shallop and drew her on land to mend and repair her, having been forced to cut her down in bestowing her betwix the decks, and she was much opened with the people lying in her which kept us there long, for it was sixteen or seventeen days before the carpenter had finished her." On Wednesday, while the boat was being repaired, Bradford and some of the others—"in all sixteen well-armed men, every man with his musket, sword, and corslet"—went ashore, under the command of Myles Standish, to explore the country. Little did they realize that they were the advance-guard of a civilization which was to extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and that this was the beginning of a civilization which was to affect the whole world. Hardly had they landed when, in going around a headland, they unexpectedly

came upon six Indians walking towards them along the beach. "First they supposed them to be Mr. Jones the master, and some of his men, for they were ashore. but after they knew them to be Indians they marched after them." The Indians, finding themselves pursued, fled to the woods, and Standish and his men, hoping to learn from them something of the country, followed them all that day, and at night, after posting three sentinels as a precaution against attack, camped on the east shore of the Cape. The next day they again followed the foot-prints along the shore, and the Indians, finding themselves still pursued, again fled to the woods, where Standish and his men, in following them, became lost in thickets so dense that some of them had their armor torn apart. That afternoon the explorers returned to the west side of the Cape, and, after kindling a fire to let those on board know of their safety, made camp for the night. During that afternoon they had found a good-sized pond of fresh water, a cleared piece of ground where corn had been planted, some Indian graves, the remains of a house that some ship's crew had probably built, and a large iron kettle. They had also found, not far from the Pamet River, a clearing where corn-stalks were still standing and, in holes in the ground heaped over with sand, some Indian baskets filled with corn, the first they had ever seen. On Friday, taking with them some of this corn, they skirted the shore of what is now East Harbor, but unable to make soundings, as they had

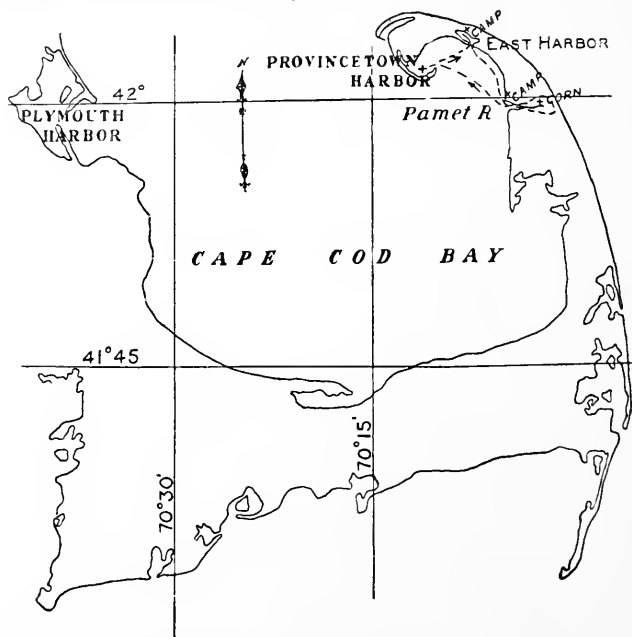
no boat, they returned in the afternoon along the shore to the May Flower.



THE FIRST EXPLORING EXPEDITION

On Monday, December seventh, the shallop being ready, twenty-four of the men started on a second exploration of the coast, Captain Jones and nine of the sailors going with them in the long boat. They sailed first to East Harbor, where they made soundings, but found it was not suitable for a settlement, as it did not have enough depth of water for vessels. Here they spent the night, and the next

day they sailed for the Pamet River, to see the place where the corn had been found. When leaving, they took with them some ten bushels of the corn, besides some beans which they also found. Afterwards when they recalled the incident, and remembered that on that very afternoon a blinding storm had come, which would have made it impossible to find the corn, they believed that an inspiration from God had guided them that day, and they were more than ever convinced that in critical times they were under His special care.



THE SECOND EXPLORING EXPEDITION

That afternoon Captain Jones returned to the May Flower in the long boat, and fifteen of the others took the corn back in the shallop. The next morning the shallop returned with other men to continue the explorations in the vicinity of the Pamet River, and the following day, Tuesday, all returned to the May Flower. During this trip the weather had become so extremely cold that some of those who died later "took the original of their death here." During these two days they saw whales, seals, and codfish in abundance, and so many grampus that they thought of calling the harbor Grampus Bay. They also saw the wreck of a French fishing vessel that had gone ashore four years before, and some deserted Indians' wigwams, but, as they did not find any good harbor or a sufficient supply of fresh water, they returned to the May Flower.

The ground being now covered with snow, there was a call for men willing to make a thorough exploration of Cape Cod. From those who offered to go, Standish, Carver, Bradford, Winslow, and eight others were selected. With them Captain Jones sent three sailors, the two mates, and a pilot—in all eighteen men. On Wednesday, December sixteenth, when they started, the weather was so cold that the spray from the shallop froze on their clothing, and Bradford in his journal wrote, "their clothes were like unto coats of iron." That afternoon they made a landing where Eastham now is, and, as Indians had been noticed further up the

shore, built a rough fort of logs, driftwood, and pine boughs. That night, as smoke could be plainly seen from an Indian camp not five miles away, they posted sentinels. The following morning, dividing their forces, some sailed along the shore in the shallop, while the others explored inland. At sunset a new camp was made not far from their camp of the night before, at a place now known as Great Meadow Creek, the shallop coming in at high tide. Here they again made a temporary fort, and, after building a fire in the centre, lay around it for the night. The next morning "after praier they prepared for breakfast and, it being day dawning, it was thought best to be carrying things down to ye boat," for it was necessary on account of the tide for the shallop to get out of the creek at sunrise. Accordingly, most of them carried down their guns and left them on the bank, covering them with their coats to protect them from the dew. While they were at breakfast in the fort, suddenly strange shouts came from the woods, and one of their number rushing in, cried, "Men! Indeans, Indeans!" All was now excitement, and they were hardly on their feet before arrows began flying about them. Two of their number, who still had their guns with them, at once rushed to the entrance of their fort, and began firing at the savages now coming out of the woods. While these two men guarded the fort, the others made a dash for their arms on the shore. The Indians, believing their enemies were fleeing, now gave a shout of victory, but in a moment

the men had returned with their guns, and immediately every man was firing. The leader, a large swarthy Indian, became the target, and, when splinters began to fly about him from the tree behind which he stood, he gave a frightened shout, and, with the others, disappeared.

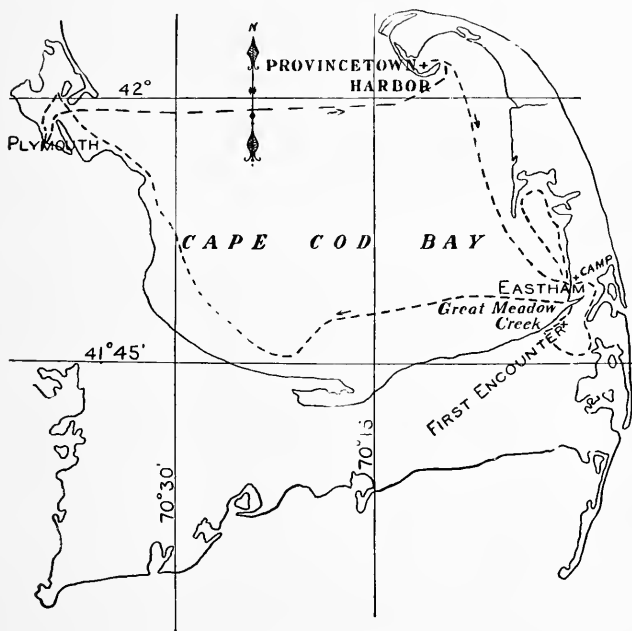
This was the Pilgrims' first taste of Indian warfare, and their first contest with a race of men who thereafter were to be an important factor in their lives. Although the contest was a short one,—for the Indians did not then understand the use of fire-arms,—it was the beginning of a warfare which was not to end until thousands of white men had been killed and the Indians had been driven from their lands. During this skirmish several coats hanging on the branches of the trees around the entrance to the fort were riddled with arrows, yet not a man was hit. Consequently, there was not one among them who did not believe that they had all been saved by the providence of God. After firing a few shots in the air as a further challenge, the explorers followed the Indians through the woods for a quarter of a mile, and then returned to their boat, where they offered a prayer of thanksgiving for their deliverance. This place they named First Encounter.

But their troubles were not yet over. They had left the May Flower after what they supposed was the end of a north-easterly storm; but, as they coasted along the shore, snow began to fall, and in the after-

noon the storm became so violent and made such a heavy sea that their rudder broke, and they had to steer with oars. Then the mast snapped, and, in going overboard, so nearly capsized the boat that for a moment all gave themselves up as lost. In their dilemma they rowed for the shore, hoping, with the tide now on the flood, to be able to land; but, as the breakers were now so high that they could not make a landing, they were obliged to put to sea again. Finally, after hours of rowing, they were able to get under the lee of an island. It was now long after dark, and, fearing another attack, they hesitated about going ashore; but all were so benumbed by the cold, that the more venturesome landed and kindled a fire. Soon the others followed, and before long all were asleep from sheer exhaustion. Without knowing it, they were at the entrance of Plymouth Harbor—so named by Captain John Smith six years before—and had at last reached the long-sought-for place where Captain Pring had anchored in 1603. This island they afterward named Clark's Island as Clark, the mate of the May Flower, was in command of the shallop.

That night the wind shifted. In the morning, when the sun came out, it grew warmer; and, after giving thanks to God for their deliverance, the men, who were too worn out to make further explorations, spent the day in drying their clothes and in cleaning their guns. The next day they held their Sunday ser-

vices as usual. On Monday, December eleventh (old style), or December twenty-first (new style), after making soundings of Plymouth Harbor and finding good anchorage, they landed on the solitary boulder now known as Plymouth Rock. This was the historic landing of the Pilgrims, and the boulder is still kept



THE THIRD EXPLORING EXPEDITION

as a memorial to these pioneers of freedom who helped shape the age. During the two following days they explored the country, finding several clearings where

the Indians had planted corn, several brooks, and several excellent springs of water. But what most appealed to them was the hill on the shore, where they could easily build a fortification against Indian attacks, for it commanded both the harbor and the land. Having been gone a week, and satisfied with what they had seen, they returned across Cape Cod Bay to Provincetown Harbor, twenty-five miles away.

Two days later, December twenty-fifth (new style), the *May Flower* sailed for Plymouth Harbor but a head wind springing up, the captain did not dare beat in between the islands and the shore, so the vessel lay at anchor for the night off Gurnet Head. The next day, Saturday, December twenty-sixth, having a fair wind they sailed into Plymouth Harbor, where anchor was dropped "a mile and almost a half off" the shore.

The great work of the *May Flower* was accomplished. Her timbers were sprung, her bulwarks were torn away, and her sails, "rent by many gales and patched by the hands of the sailors," were flapping against her masts. Unknown to themselves, these men, who for three months had lived in a vessel too small for half their number, were to begin a new epoch in civilization, and to become the connecting link in the chain of events joining the history of the Old World with that of the New.

When these Pilgrims left Leyden in August, they had expected to build their homes before cold weather came, but the delays caused by the unseaworthy con-

dition of the Speedwell and by the storms encountered during the voyage over had brought them to the bleak New England coast at the time when shelter was most needed. Since all were anxious to get the colony started as soon as possible, on Monday morning an exploring party was sent ashore, it being agreed that after their explorations they should pray for divine guidance, and then decide by vote whether or not this should be the place for their settlement. On Wednesday, when the question came up for decision, some wished to locate where Kingston now is; but this was not thought practicable, as the forests could not be cleared in time for planting. Others who advocated Clark's Island, were overruled, as this was not only thickly wooded, but poorly watered. The majority, however, were in favor of locating where the town of Plymouth now is. In addition to its topographical advantages this place had a good supply of water; the Indian cornfields were ready for cultivation; strawberry plants were found in abundance, and also the sassafras-tree, which was then highly prized by Europeans because of its supposed medical properties. Large numbers of wild fowl of different kinds were seen, and there were mussel and clam beds along the shore. Consequently, this place was decided upon, and that afternoon eighteen of the more enthusiastic built on the shore a barricade, where they slept that night. Wednesday, December thirtieth, was therefore the day of the first permanent settlement of our Pilgrim Fathers in the New World.

CHAPTER V

THE BEGINNING OF NEW ENGLAND

1621

On Saturday, January second, the Pilgrims began clearing the land for their houses. On Sunday the guard of twenty men left ashore were alarmed by an outcry of unseen Indians, and, although they prepared

for an attack, none was made. Monday, December twenty-fifth (old style), was Christmas Day but as this day had been made a religious festival day by an edict of the pope, all Separatists denounced it as non-Christian, Bradford's journal saying, "No man rested all that



THE DEPARTURE OF THE MAY FLOWER

day." At dusk another outcry of Indians was heard, but again nothing came of it. Nevertheless, that they might be able to defend themselves at all times, it was decided to mount their cannon at once on a platform on the hill.

As it was thought best to build their houses between the hill and the shore, a street with house lots on both sides was laid out parallel with the stream now known

as the Town Brook. It being also decided to build only a few houses, the people were divided into nineteen groups, and, in order to have the houses within a stockade, the house lots were made small. It was also voted that the size of each lot should be according to the number of persons who were to occupy the house, and that a piece of ground three rods long and half a rod wide should be estimated for each person. In order to prevent favoritism, it was further voted that these lots should be drawn for, and that the houses should be built by those who were to occupy them. Before, however, any of the houses were begun, a shed for their goods was built. Then a building twenty feet square, to be used for a place of worship and a general meeting-place; and seven thatch roofed log houses, were started. While these were building, some of the men lived on board the *May Flower*, and some on shore to guard their property, for they were in constant fear of the Indians, who were frequently heard in the woods near by.

Hardly had the building begun when the ship fever, which had already broken out, began to spread. It was the usual typhus fever so prevalent on sailing-vessels in those days, and these Pilgrims were now paying the penalty of leaving England not properly provisioned. To check the disease, most of those who were ill were taken ashore and put into these partially completed houses, at one time only six of the whole colony being well enough to care for the others.

During these troubles Captain Jones of the *May Flower* was often brutal to them. He several times threatened to sail for England, and, when he found that the delay on account of the fever was making him short of beer for his voyage home, often refused to give away any. In those days such a refusal was considered a great hardship, as, having no milk, beer was the common drink of all, tea and coffee being then unknown to the English.

To the colonists these two months of January and February were months of great discouragement. Nearly half their number died, and, after they were buried on the bluff now known as Cole's Hill, the earth was carefully levelled, that the Indians might not know the number, those who survived being so feeble that all could have easily been massacred. Some of the ship's officers and many of the crew had also died, and, as others were still ill, the *May Flower* was short-handed and unable to get away.

There were now only fifty-three colonists, including the women and children. These were not, as is often thought, people advanced in years, since only "the youngest and strongest" had come over to establish the colony, the average age of these first arrivals, leaving out Brewster and his wife and Carver and his wife, being probably less than twenty-five years. Those now left were William Brewster, then fifty-four, his wife, and their two sons; John Carver and his wife, both of whom died soon afterwards; William Bradford,

then thirty-three, whose wife had been drowned while the *May Flower* was in Provincetown Harbor; Edward Winslow, then twenty-five, his wife having just died; Isaac Allerton, then thirty-two, his son and two daughters, his wife having just died; Samuel Fuller, the surgeon of the colonists, whose wife came over afterwards; Myles Standish, then thirty-six, his wife having just died; Susanna White and her son, her husband having just died; Stephen Hopkins, his wife, two sons and two daughters; Richard Warren, whose wife came over afterwards; John Howland, then twenty-seven; Francis Cook, then thirty-eight, and his son, his wife coming over afterwards; John Billington, his wife and two sons; Francis Eaton and his infant son, his wife having just died; George Soule; Peter Brown; Gilbert Winslow, then twenty-one; Edward Doten; Richard Gardner; John Alden, then twenty-one; Edward Leister; William Trevor and one Ely, two sailors engaged for a year; Priscilla Mullens, Mary Chilton, and Elizabeth Tilly, girls whose parents had just died; Desire Minter; Humility Cooper and Mrs. Carver's maid; John Crackstone and Joseph Rogers, boys whose mothers had not come over and whose fathers had just died; Samuel Fuller, then nineteen years old (the nephew of Samuel Fuller, the surgeon), both his parents having just died; and Henry Sampson, Richard Moore, and William Latham. Five husbands were now left widowers, and one wife a widow; eight husbands had been buried with their wives; four children

had lost both parents, and three had been made fatherless and four motherless, all but two families having lost some member. Such was the work of "the first sickness," and there were now left only twenty-two men, five wives, ten girls, and sixteen boys—twelve of these men not being communicants of Robinson's church.

On February twenty-fourth the survivors met in their unfinished rendezvous house, where popular suffrage was for the first time exercised in America, John Carver by a majority vote being chosen governor, and Myles Standish military commander. Such civil and military laws as were thought necessary for the government of the colony were also enacted. Before long, however, some of those sent over by the London stockholders began to grumble at the strict rules under which they were obliged to live, and, as the colony was located outside the limits of the grant, to deny the right of the others to control their actions.

On account of the fever the colonists were unable to get their stores ashore until March, and, as the crew of the *May Flower* had now recovered, Captain Jones began getting ready to sail. At this time none of the houses were completed and no fortification yet built. It was, therefore, voted to hold the vessel a month longer at the expense of the company, believing this to be better judgment than to hazard the possibility of losing everything by allowing her to leave before they had some means of defence against the

Indians. After-events, however, showed that their fears were groundless, for one day an Indian came boldly into the settlement, saying in his broken English, "Welcome!" He was a man with straight black hair, short in front and long behind, and, except for a fringed girdle of skins about his loins, was naked, his only weapon being a bow and two arrows, one of which had no head. He told them that his name was Samoset; that he was chief of the Monhegan tribe of Indians; that he had learned a little English from the sailors who came there fishing; that he had been at Cape Cod for eight months on a visit; that the Indian name of the place where they were was Patuxet, or the "little bay"; that four years before this time the Patuxet tribe of Indians had all died of a plague, and that there were now none to claim the land. He also told them that Massasoit, the chief of the Wampanoags, whose people numbered sixty braves, was the grand sachem of the Cape Cod confederacy of Indians; that his principal residence was at Sowams, forty miles to the westward, now Warren; and that the Nausets, a tribe to the south-east, a hundred strong, were the Indians who had attacked them because one Captain Hunt, who had come over with the expedition of Captain John Smith in 1614, had carried away seven of their braves. The next day Samoset left, and two days later returned with five tall, powerfully built Indians of Massasoit's tribe, who brought with them some beaver skins—a fur then unknown to the English--

which they offered to sell. The colonists, however, declined to purchase them, as it was Sunday, and the Indians, leaving the furs, departed, saying that their great chief Massasoit intended to pay a visit to the colony. On the following Thursday, Samoset came again, this time with Squanto, an Indian who later became an invaluable friend to the settlers. Squanto was the only survivor of the Patuxet tribe, being one of those who had been kidnapped by Captain Hunt to sell in Spain, but had been taken to London, where he had learned a little English and had afterwards returned with the expedition of Captain Dermer. He had now come with Samoset to announce that Massasoit was on his way to the colony, and before long Massasoit with a large body guard was seen on the brow of the hill south of the Town Brook, from where he sent a request to the settlement that one of the colonists be sent there for a conference. Although this was thought a perilous thing to do, Winslow volunteered to go. Wearing his armor and carrying side-arms, he crossed the brook at the ford, and, after ascending what is now Watson's Hill, disappeared in the crowd of Indians.

Assuring Massasoit that the colonists desired him as an ally, Winslow invited him to visit the settlement to confer with the governor concerning a treaty for their mutual benefit. Leaving Winslow as a hostage and taking with him twenty warriors, Massasoit descended the hill, and was met at the ford by Standish

and Allerton and six others in armor. Here a military salute was given Massasoit, and he was then escorted to the rendezvous house. He was a man in the prime of life, of grave manner and few words, and, after the colonists had shown him every courtesy, a treaty was made by which it was agreed that neither should make war on the other, and that in case of any Indian conspiracy against either of them the other should render all possible aid. It was also agreed that the land formerly occupied by the extinct tribe of Patuxet should be considered the land of the settlers. This memorable treaty, made April first, 1621, secured to the colonists safety for fifty-five years, and was one more sacredly kept than many a treaty of Christian nations.

Later, in April, the morning came when from the shore these plucky people watched the crew of the *May Flower* hoist anchor. Not one of them had asked to be taken aboard, and, as the vessel sailed out of the harbor, all waved a last farewell from the top of the hill as she passed Gurnet Head and trimmed her sails for England.

New England civilization was now fairly begun. The nearest neighbors on the north were the hostile French, five hundred miles away in Nova Scotia: and on the south the not friendly English Conformists, five hundred miles away on the James River. We can picture the colony at this time—the seven thatched roof log houses along their single street; the rendez-

vous house at the foot of the street where their church services were held; the shallop alongside the pier where the mouth of the brook broadened into a cove; the storehouse near the head of the pier; the clearing with blackened stumps on the bluff under the hill; the burying-ground of their forty-six companions on the edge of the clearing; and the six cannons on a platform on the hill, with a roughly built watch-tower near by.

We know that during April John Carver died, and that William Bradford, although not fully recovered from the fever, was chosen governor, Allerton being made his assistant; that Squanto now came to live with them, and showed them where in the Town Brook they could best catch fish. We know that the able-bodied men now worked in the Indian corn fields, getting the land ready for the crop which was to give them food the coming winter; that the wheat and peas brought over from England were now planted and later the Indian corn which they had found in December, as Squanto told them that this should be done when the leaves on the oaks became as large as the ear of a rabbit.

We know that in July, after the planting, Winslow and Hopkins were sent with Squanto to visit Massasoit, "to know where to find them if occasion served, as also to see their strength and discover the country." We know that "they took with them a horseman's coat of red cotton and laced with slight lace for a

present, that both they and their message might be more acceptable among them." The message, which shows the friendly relations already existing between them, was as follows: "Foreasmuch as his [Massasoit's] subjects came often and without fear upon all occasions amongst us, so we were now come unto him, and in witness of the love and the good will the English bear unto him the governor hath sent him a coat, desiring that the peace and amity that was between them and us might be continued. Not that we feared them, but because we intended not to injure any, desiring to live peaceably, and as with all men so especially with them our nearest neighbors. But whereas his people come over often and very many together unto us, bringing for the most part their wives and children, they are welcome, yet we being but strangers as yet at Patuxet, alias New Plymouth, and not knowing how our corn might prosper, we could not longer give them such entertainment as we had done and as we desire still to do, yet if he would be pleased to come himself or any special friend of his desired to see us, coming from him, they should be welcome. And to the end we might know them from others our governor has sent him a copper chain, desiring, if any message should come from him to us, we might know by bringing it with him, and harken and give credit to his message accordingly. Also requesting him that such that have skins should bring them to us and that he would hinder the multitude from op-

pressing us with them. And whereas at our first arrival at Paomet, called by us Cape Cod, we found there corn buried in the ground and finding no inhabitants but some graves of dead new buried, we took the corn, resolving if ever we could hear of any that had right thereunto to make satisfaction to the full for it, yet such we understood the owners thereof were fled for fear of us our desire was either to pay them the like quantity of corn, English meal or any other commodities we had to pleasure them withal, requesting him that some of the men might signify so much unto them and we would content him for his pains. And last of all our governor requesting one favor of him, which was that he would exchange some of their corn for seed with us, that we might make trial which best agreed with the soil where we live.”

Soon after this Hobomok, a pinesse or counsellor of Massasoit's tribe, joined the colony, and proved a faithful friend until his death. As he was of large size and his courage well known to the Indians thereabouts, he and Squanto were sent, in August, to trade with the Pocassets, a tribe fourteen miles inland. On account of their friendship with the English, Hobomok and Squanto were attacked by these Indians, and Hobomok, making his escape, returned to the settlement, leaving Squanto a prisoner. The colonists, learning from Hobomok what had happened, at once sent Standish, with fourteen men, to rescue Squanto, for all knew what the effect would be on every Indian,

should such treachery be allowed to pass unnoticed. We know that Standish and his men surrounded the Indian village, and that their warlike attitude so terrified the Pocassets that the Indians released Squanto, and promised future good behavior. This prompt action of the colonists in sending a handful of men against an Indian stronghold had shown to the Indians what kind of men they had to deal with, and it so gained the respect of all Cape Cod Indians that several chiefs now besought Massasoit to make an alliance for them with a foe so formidable as these men had proved themselves to be. The result was that the standing of the colony in the community became much strengthened, and, having now friendly relations with all the tribes, the colonists were able to do some profitable trading with the goods brought over in the May Flower.

As it would be a benefit to the colony to establish friendly relations with the once powerful tribe of Massachusetts, in September Standish and ten of the colonists, with Squanto and two other Indians as guides, were sent in the shallop to Massachusetts Bay, as Boston Harbor was then called. This was the first visit of any of the Plymouth colonists to this section; for, although the harbor was well known to the traders and fishermen of all the maritime nations of Europe, no attempt had as yet been made to plant a settlement there. Leaving with the ebb tide on the night of September twenty-ninth, Standish and his party had

expected to anchor in the harbor the following day, as it was only forty-four miles away. On account of light winds, however, they only reached the outer harbor late in the afternoon, and dropped anchor that night off Thompson's Island. The following morning, going ashore near where Quincy now is, an Indian squaw told them that the chief of her tribe, who was then at the Neponset River, could tell them where the chief of the Massachusetts might be found. From here Squanto went with her in her canoe to find her chief, and the others followed in the shallop. From this chief they learned that the squaw-sachem of the Massachusetts lived on the Mystic River. With this Indian guide they sailed across the bay to the Charles River, noticing with admiration its broad expanse and the islands, many of which showed the remains of the Indian plantations which Captain Smith had seen there seven years before. At night they anchored where the Mystic flows into the Charles, and the next morning, leaving two men to guard their boat, went inland as far as Medford. The news of their arrival had preceded them. They came upon several deserted wigwams, and at one place found some Indian squaws, who finally induced a brave to show himself, but not until he was satisfied that these strangers had not come to injure him or his people did he, "shaking and trembling for feare," show himself. As all they could learn of the whereabouts of the squaw-sachem was that "shee was far from thence," they now returned to the

boat, accompanied by the squaws, who in their eagerness for trade "sold their coats from their backs, and tied boughs about them, but with great shamefacedness, for indeed they were more modest than some of our English women." That night with a fair wind and a full moon the men sailed for Plymouth, which they reached the following noon.

This trip was the first recorded exploration of Boston Harbor. Seven years before, Captain Smith, when sailing along the New England coast, had named a river—which the Indians told him flowed "many days' journey into the entrails of that country"—the Charles River, but he had not located it. So Standish really "was the first to impose such a name upon that river upon which Charlestown is built." In their going and coming they had traversed the entire bay, noticing its great size and its many islands. From the reports which they carried back to Plymouth it is, therefore, not surprising that all could not help "wishing that they had been there seated."

During this autumn they harvested their small crop; traded with the Indians; supplied themselves with wild ducks, turkeys, and venison for the winter; and made clapboards to be later shipped to England. They had already begun to exercise the functions of a fully developed state: had chosen officers, made laws, organized a militia, established trade relations with the Indians, and negotiated a treaty offensive and defensive with the Indian confederacy. On a small scale, there-

fore, they had established a democratic commonwealth which they were successfully developing. Their crop of corn had liberally repaid them for the labor expended, the wheat brought from England had yielded moderately, and, although their crop of peas had failed, they were able to look back with satisfaction upon their first year in this new country.

To commemorate the year's work, they set aside a day for public rejoicing, and to their feast invited their Indian ally Massasoit, who came with ninety warriors. This festival gathering of fifty-three white settlers, including the women and children, and ninety-one Indians inaugurated the first Thanksgiving Day ever held in New England. Of this Thanksgiving festival Winslow wrote: "Our harvest being gotten in, our Governor sent four men on fowling, so that we might after a special manner rejoice together after we had gathered in the fruit of our labors. They four in one day killed as much fowl as served the company almost a week. At this time, among other recreations, we exercised our arms, many of the Indians coming among us, and with them their great King, Massasoit, with some ninety men, whom for three days we entertained and feasted, and they went out and killed five deer, which they brought to the plantation and bestowed on our Governor and upon the Captain and others."

On November nineteenth, the *Fortune*, a small vessel of fifty-five tons, unexpectedly arrived with thirty-five new settlers, among them being Brewster's eldest

son, Winslow's brother John, and Robert Cushman. Most of these new arrivals were strong, rugged men, yet few of them appreciated the seriousness of the undertaking upon which they had entered. They had brought over with them a patent from the New England Company, taken out in the name of John Pierce, one of the London stockholders, which covered the section in which they were located, but they had not brought a supply of food. Two weeks later the *Fortune* sailed for England, and Cushman, who had been sent over by the London stockholders to examine the affairs of the colony and to get the settlers, if possible, to assent to the article in the compact rejected at Southampton, went back in her, taking with him a cargo of clapboards, sassafras, and two hogsheads of beaver and otter skins. On this return voyage the vessel was captured by the French, then at war with England, and its cargo, valued at over three hundred pounds, confiscated, but the vessel and those on board were allowed to sail to England. Although this pioneer cargo from the infant plantation was lost, so that the stockholders received nothing for their first year's work, the colonists, notwithstanding their discouragements and their great loss in numbers, had shown that they had conscientiously worked for the interests of the company.

Since they had been obliged to restock the *Fortune* with food for the return voyage, and, moreover, must provide food for the new colonists, an estimate

was made of the supply on hand, and, when it was found that there was not enough corn to last them until they could harvest their next crop, it was thought necessary to put all upon half allowance. In consequence they were now obliged to live largely on fish food and what game they could get. But on this scanty diet they worked steadily through the winter, in good health and with unabated courage.

One glimpse which we get of their daily life that winter shows the seriousness with which everything was undertaken. It was Christmas morning, and Bradford and the other men were starting as usual for their work, when the new arrivals refused to go because it was Christmas Day. Upon hearing their objections, Bradford told them, if it were a question of conscience, they need not work. When, however, Bradford on returning at noon found that these men, notwithstanding their conscientious scruples, had been making the forenoon a holiday,—some making wagers in pitching an iron bar at a stake, and the others gambling over a game of stool ball,—he told them that he, too, had a conscience which would not permit him to let them play while the others worked, and, taking from them their bar and the ball, commanded them to stay in their houses and keep the day with proper devotion if they attached a sanctity to it. With this admonition the incident ended, and after dinner these men went to work, never again asking for a holiday not enjoyed by all.

CHAPTER VI

THE SCARCITY OF CORN

1622

During the winter of 1621-22 the colonists built another shallop, and in the spring received a declaration of war from the Narragansetts, a powerful tribe of Indians living on the further side of Buzzards Bay. This tribe could muster two thousand warriors, and against them forty or fifty Englishmen, even with fire-arms, were far from being a fair match. So implicitly, however, did the Pilgrims believe that their God would protect them that they at



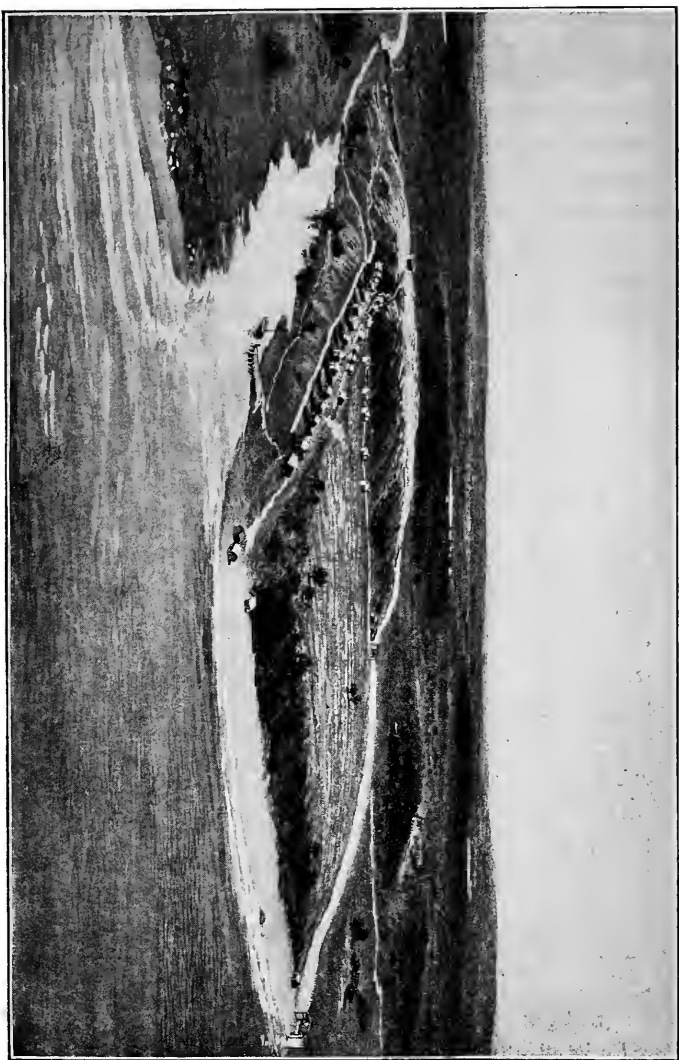
MYLES STANDISH

once accepted the challenge, for their belief in their destiny always gave them a religious courage which more than once saved them from annihilation. We all know that with this declaration of war a Narragansett Indian left at the settlement a bundle of arrows wrapped in the skin of a rattlesnake, sent by the chief Canonicus; that Governor Bradford sent him back with the message that, although the colonists desired peace, if war was wanted, they need only come to

Plymouth; and that only the want of boats prevented the colonists seeking them in their own country. Such defiance had not been looked for; and, a few days later, when the skin filled with powder and bullets was sent to Canonicus, it so frightened this bellicose chief that he refused to receive the mysterious parcel.

Preparations for the impending war were now begun by building from the shore around the hill to the Town Brook, a stockade, which with the brook on the southernly side and the harbor on the easterly side would fairly well protect the settlement. In this stockade were built four projecting bastions, from which with their muskets the settlers could prevent the outside of the wall being set on fire by the Indians. In three of these bastions were put heavy gates, which at night were kept locked, with a guard stationed at each. It had taken three weeks to build the stockade, and during that time Standish had organized the men into four companies, and all able to carry muskets were drilled in military manœuvres. The result was that the settlement had now quite a military appearance, and, this becoming known to the Narragansetts, so alarmed them that they gave up all thought of attacking it.

In March, as soon as the weather became warmer, it was decided that Standish and ten others, with Squanto and Hobomok as interpreters, should go in the shallop to Massachusetts Bay for corn, as their supply was nearly exhausted. When they reached Gurnet Head, three shots, the signal of danger, brought



THE PIONEER SETTLEMENT

them back. Upon investigation it was found that Squanto, jealous of Hobomok, had arranged to have one of his family tell Governor Bradford of a conspiracy between Hobomok and Massasoit, hoping in this way to get Hobomok expelled from the colony. As soon as these facts became known, Standish with Squanto, Hobomok, and the others again started on what proved to be a successful expedition. On their return, Massasoit, having heard of Squanto's duplicity, was waiting for his arrival, so enraged with him for using his name in the deception that he had determined to kill him. With much difficulty Massasoit was finally pacified by Governor Bradford, and returned home, but soon afterwards sent a messenger demanding that this instigator of strife be executed—a demand which, according to the terms of the treaty, he had a right to insist upon. As his request was not complied with, he then sent messengers with beaver and other skins as a gift, besides sending his own knife with which Squanto's head and hands were to be cut off and brought back as evidence of his death. It was now a question between disregarding a solemn treaty which would make the Indians lose confidence in the white man's word, and the gratitude of the colony to the man who had so often helped them. In his dilemma, Bradford made one excuse after another for not summoning Squanto before him for trial, until at length the messengers left in anger, and for a time the colonists lost Massasoit as a friend.

In May some Nauset Indians brought word to the colony that an unknown shallop was making its way from the eastward towards the harbor. It proved to be the shallop of the Sparrow, a small vessel partly owned by Weston, which with thirty other English vessels was fishing on the Maine coast. On board the shallop were seven passengers, who brought with them a letter from Weston, telling the colonists that he was about to establish a separate settlement near Plymouth, and asking them to care for these men until his two vessels arrived with the new settlers. These passengers had also brought from the captain of one of the fishing fleet—John Huddleston, a man unknown to them—a letter telling them of a massacre by the Indians of three hundred and forty-seven settlers in Virginia, and begging them to be on their guard against a similar uprising of the Cape Cod Indians.

By June the colonists had no corn in their storehouse. Although sixty acres of land had been planted, the corn had not yet grown, and that summer they were obliged to live almost wholly on lobsters, clams, and fish. When the Sparrow's shallop returned to the fishing fleet, Winslow was sent in one of the colony's shallops to get grain, and, although the different captains gave him what they could spare and refused to accept any payment, he was able to obtain but little. The scanty supply brought back, however, was enough to allow each colonist four ounces a day until harvest time, and this, added to their otherwise unvaried diet of marine

food, was, from a sanitary point of view, invaluable. Because of this scarcity of corn, it was thought advisable to keep the stock locked up, each one's allowance being weighed out daily and distributed from the storehouse. Fortunately there was but little illness, and although some of the colonists lost flesh, while others became bloated from the want of proper food, none became discouraged.

That summer the colonists, both on account of the Virginia massacres and on account of their fear of the Narragansetts and the loss of Massasoit's friendship, decided to build at once a fort on the summit of the hill. Few, however, were able to work on this fort as they could have done with proper food, the cultivation of their large field of corn alone being as much as their strength allowed. Its construction consequently went on slowly; for in their enfeebled condition it was slow work dragging to the top of the hill the necessary timbers, most of which had to be brought long distances. The fort was therefore unfinished when winter came.

During this summer, Weston's two ships, the *Charity*, a vessel of one hundred tons, and the *Swan*, of thirty, arrived with sixty colonists, most of them hard characters. When the *Charity* departed for Virginia, and the *Swan* in search of a suitable place for the new settlement, these new emigrants were left at Plymouth, and, as the *Charity* had brought over a sufficient supply of food, the Pilgrims willingly gave them such

sleeping accommodations as they could. This kindness the new arrivals repaid by sneeringly calling the Pilgrims "Brownists" and by robbing the cornfields in order to have roasted green corn. Later some of the Plymouth settlers themselves were also caught stealing corn, and were publicly whipped, but the colonists were in such need of food that it was impossible to entirely prevent these depredations. Upon the return of the *Charity* and the *Swan* in six weeks, these new emigrants were taken to the place picked out for their colony, eighteen miles north of Plymouth where Weymouth now is, but their sick were left at Plymouth in the care of Dr. Fuller.

In September the *Discovery* arrived in the harbor on its way from Virginia to England, and the colonists obtained from the captain, in exchange for their beaver skins, some provisions and a stock of beads and knives to be used in trading with the Indians. With these articles they now expected to be able to purchase food from the natives, and so opportune did the arrival of this vessel seem that they attributed it to "God's good mercy."

In October the *Charity* sailed for England, leaving enough provisions to last the Weymouth settlement until the next harvest. But, as this supply was soon wasted in a reckless manner, it was not long before the new-comers were in as much need of food as the Plymouth settlers. In their dilemma a brother-in-law of Weston, Richard Greene, who was in charge of the

colony, proposed to Bradford that both colonies unite in taking the Swan around the Cape to get corn. This was willingly agreed to, as so much of the green corn at the Plymouth colony had been stolen. With Standish in command and with Squanto as pilot and interpreter, twice the expedition started and twice the vessel was driven back by storms. The third time when they were ready to leave, Standish being ill with a fever, his place was taken by Bradford.

At Chatham on the further side of the Cape eight hogsheads of corn were obtained, and while here Squanto, who had become sick with fever, died. Before his death he asked Bradford to pray that he might go to the Englishman's God in heaven, and then as a remembrance of his love bequeathed what few goods he had to his English friends in the colony. As these explorers now had no pilot, it was thought best to return to the colony, but, after rounding Cape Cod, they stood over to Massachusetts Bay, hoping to get corn there. Here they found that the Weymouth colonists by their prodigality had already destroyed all possibilities of any trading being done with these Indians, so they sailed to Eastham, where they succeeded in obtaining ten hogsheads of corn and some beans. Here the shallop which they had taken along was blown on to the rocks during a storm and wrecked, and, as it was now difficult to get any grain out to the Swan, Bradford had it stacked on the shore, and employed an Indian to look after it until sent for. At

Barnstable they obtained ten more hogsheds of corn, which were also stacked, and from here they sailed for Plymouth, where the cargo was divided, Bradford, who returned from Barnstable by land in order to explore the country, being able to purchase a little more corn on the way. But the small supply obtained was only enough to carry the colony through the winter, and it was evident that before the next harvest came they would again be in sore need of proper food.



AT STANDISH'S FIRESIDE

CHAPTER VII

THE FIRST INDIAN CONSPIRACY

1623

It was now the Pilgrims' third year in the new country. Two additional buildings for their merchandise and a few more houses had been built, but the fort was still unfinished, as many had thought it unnecessary and had pronounced it "vain-glorious."



A CAPE COD INDIAN

In January Standish, after purchasing some corn at Sandwich, had been able to get off the rocks the shallop that had been wrecked in Eastham Harbor, and, after repairing it, brought back in it the corn stacked on the shore two months before. In February, as their stock was again running low, he was sent to Barnstable to ob-

tain, if possible, another supply of corn. The Barnstable Indians, professing great love for him, brought him a large amount of corn, and, the harbor freezing over at sunset so that he was unable

to get away, the Indians insisted that he and his men should spend that night with them on shore. This invitation Standish and the others accepted, and, on arriving at the Indian camping-ground, found there several Indians of other tribes who pretended that curiosity to see white people had brought them there. Standish, however, instinctively feeling that he and his men were in danger, kept a part of his men on watch while the others slept, and they afterwards learned that this precaution saved them all from massacre.

In March, the Indians made another attempt to take the life of Standish while he and some of the colonists were at Sandwich, getting the corn purchased there in January. By some strange instinct, all that night, while his men were asleep, Standish paced restlessly back and forth before the camp-fire, telling the Pamet Indian who had been sent there to murder him that he could not account for his sleeplessness, and the would-be assassin—Indian-like—dared not attack him while awake.

Soon after their return from this trip a report came to the colony that Massasoit was dangerously ill, and Winslow was at once sent with Hobomok to do what they could for him. During their second day's journey to his camp some Indians told them that Massasoit had died, and Hobomok, fearing for the safety of all white men, urged Winslow to return to the settlement. Believing that a visit to the tribe would strengthen the questionable friendship, Winslow determined to keep

on, and late that night he and Hobomok reached Massasoit's home at Sowams. Upon their arrival they found Massasoit still alive, but his wigwam was so crowded with Indians that it was difficult to get near the sick bed. The Provahs, or priests, were then in the midst of their incantations for the dying, and were making, as Winslow said in his journal, "such a hellish noise as it distempered us that were well and therefore unlike to ease him that was sick." After giving Massasoit some medicine and sending an Indian back to Plymouth to get from Dr. Fuller still more efficient remedies, Winslow nursed him all that night. Before the messenger returned, however, Massasoit had begun to recover, and on the following day was out of danger.

This visit proved a fortunate one, especially since, on the day before Winslow's arrival, a visiting sachem had tried to convince Massasoit that the English had deserted him when he was ill, and were not his friends. Upon his recovery, therefore, he could not too warmly or too constantly express his gratitude, often saying, "Now I see that the English are my friends and love me, and while I live I will never forget this kindness they have shown me."

For some time among nearly all the Cape Cod Indians there had been a hostile feeling towards these strangers who had come among them. The Indians, living as they did in wigwams, looked with envy upon the cottages at Plymouth and Weymouth, and their aboriginal minds coveted the furniture, clothing, weapons,

and trading goods of the white man. It needed little to stir this innate cupidity into a conspiracy to exterminate the settlers, and a grievance was found soon after the formation of the Weymouth settlement, whose members had shown little, if any, restraint towards the Indians. Frequent complaints had come to Plymouth from the Neponsets, a tribe of Indians living in that section, that these Weymouth settlers not only insulted, but often robbed them. As early as March these new colonists had exhausted their own stores and seed-corn, and began stealing corn from the caches where the natives stored their supplies. Later, when the Indians, with now only a scanty supply for themselves, refused to sell them corn at any price, the Weymouth men began planning to seize this supply, but were finally dissuaded by Bradford, to whom some of the more honest Weymouth settlers had written of the contemplated action. As the stores in the Weymouth settlement were exhausted, most of these colonists now left their well-built village, enclosed within a strong palisade, to camp in the woods and along the shore, where they could easily get nuts, mussels, and clams, only a few of the men remaining in the plantation, vainly trying to bring about a better state of affairs. Finally, the condition of the settlers became so destitute that nearly all, in exchange for food, sold to the Indians portions of their clothing, and in consequence many were half naked as well as half starved. Squalor and demoralization were everywhere. Rich-

ard Greene, the head of the colony, died, and one Sanders, who had been put in command, went to Monhegan to purchase provisions. The Indians, knowing their demoralized condition, now became overbearing and abusive, and began plotting to massacre all in the settlement, but, well knowing the make-up of the Plymouth settlers, realized how severely they would be dealt with unless these colonists were exterminated. For this reason the original plot was enlarged to a general massacre. Into this conspiracy most of the tribes had willingly entered, Massasoit, who during his illness had been urged to join, alone refusing. In fact, two attempts made in February and March upon the lives of Standish and his men had been a part of this conspiracy, for the Indians were shrewd enough to know that with Standish out of the way their task would be easier.

While the plotters were still at work persuading the different tribes to join the conspiracy, Massasoit proved his real friendship to the Plymouth settlers. He had learned of the conspiracy only a few days before the arrival of Winslow and Hobomok at Sowams, and on the day of their departure, calling Hobomok into a secret counsel of his pinesses, or counsellors, had there divulged to him the plot, telling him to let Winslow know of it on their way back to Plymouth. He also told Hobomok to explain to the people of Weymouth that they must strike the first blow, for he was convinced that, if they waited, they would be massacred,

and, with the destruction of that colony, the Indians, crazed by the sight of human blood, would easily overpower the Plymouth settlers. He further charged Hobomok to tell the colonists that, although he was the nominal head of these hostile tribes, he had no control over their actions, and that, if the settlers valued their lives and those of their countrymen, they must at once put to death the leading Neponset conspirators. This report of Hobomok, which, when they reached the settlement, they found corroborated by a friendly Indian, gave the colonists great anxiety. At the annual town meeting to be held April second, now at hand, it was voted that Standish should take a sufficient number of men, and, under the pretence of making a trading trip to Weymouth, warn the settlers and seize and execute the conspirators.

On April fourth Standish sailed for Weymouth, taking with him only eight men, as he feared a larger number might so alarm the Indians that they would keep away from the settlement. In Weymouth Harbor the Swan lay at anchor, with nobody on board, and the captain of the vessel, whom he found ashore, assured Standish that the Indians were so friendly that he kept no fire-arms about him, and allowed them to lodge with him whenever they pleased. At this time the colonists were living in fancied security, and were scattered in every direction, but, following Standish's advice, the leaders of the colony now told the others that on pain of death all were to remain within the

settlement, and, to prevent their straggling away, Standish every morning gave to each a pint of corn from his supply in the shallop.

The unusual action of the colonists soon brought into the settlement an Indian spy, who pretended to have come to sell furs, and who, upon returning to his village, reported to his people that, while Captain Standish spoke smoothly, his eyes showed anger. The conspirators, believing their plot discovered, immediately became defiant, and several, including the leading conspirator, Wituwamat, came into the settlement whetting their knives and making threatening gestures in front of Standish. The little captain, apparently, showing only indifference, waited all that day for the chief conspirators to come to the settlement, but on the second day, as they did not come, he called Wituwamat and three of the conspirators into a room where three of his own men were, and shut the door. A hand-to-hand struggle followed, and, although the Indians fought desperately, three were killed, and the fourth, who was taken alive, was immediately hanged. Outside two others were killed, and, when Standish himself came out, he killed a seventh.

The news of what had happened was not long in reaching the Indian village. The next morning, when the warriors of the tribe were seen approaching in Indian file, Standish and four of his men, with Hobomok and two of the Weymouth men, went out to meet them. Both tried to gain the advantage of a hill near by,

but, Standish and his men reaching it first, the Indians from behind trees immediately began firing at them with their arrows. The skirmish, however, had hardly begun when Hobomok, throwing off his coat, rushed toward them, and so great was the superstitious fear that the Indians had for a pinesse that they fled before him, the only casualty on either side being the breaking of the arm of one of the conspirators by a shot fired from the hill. Several Indian women who had been held as captives were now released, and the next day the Weymouth settlers, having seen enough of New England hardships, put their movable property aboard the Swan, fastened the gates of their palisade, and, after borrowing some corn from Standish, sailed for Monhegan, with the hope of getting passage from there to England on one of the fishing fleet.

The few settlers who still wished to remain in America now returned to Plymouth with Standish and his men, Standish taking back with him the head of Wituwamat. The colonists, knowing that their greatest danger would always be from a combined uprising of the Indians, put the head upon a pike which was fastened to a corner of the fort. They still had in mind the massacre of the Virginia colony, and deliberately took this gruesome method as the only practical way of affecting the aboriginal mind, and so the head, with its long black hair waving in the wind, was allowed to remain outlined against the sky,—an object-lesson in case another Indian conspiracy should ever be thought of.

This attempted annihilation of the colony did not become known in England for several months. When, in December, John Robinson heard of it, he wrote to Bradford a letter in which he severely criticised Standish for the severe measures resorted to at Weymouth—a criticism which Standish keenly felt. From a humanitarian viewpoint Robinson may have been right, but it was fortunate for the colony that a man like Myles Standish was on the ground and that John Robinson was three thousand miles away, for little did either then appreciate to what extent the fate of Anglo-Saxon civilization in the western hemisphere depended upon having the Cape Cod Indians thoroughly understand that the Plymouth colonists could not be trifled with. Soon after writing this letter, Robinson died, so that to him Standish was never able to justify his action, but thirty years later, when the little captain himself lay dying, he wrote in his will, “I give three pounds to Mercy Robinson, whom I tenderly love for her grandfather’s sake.”

This action of the colonists had so thoroughly terrified the Indians that for some time none dared go near the settlement, the chief of the Neponsets changing his sleeping-place every night. As it proved, the Cape Cod Indians were now subdued forever, and fifty years later, when Indian hostilities were waged against the settlers of Massachusetts, these Indians did not forget that they were allies of the Plymouth colonists.

It was not long after this Indian conspiracy had been

nipped in the bud that Weston appeared at Plymouth. Under an assumed name and in the disguise of a blacksmith, he had come over with the Maine fishing fleet. Upon arriving on the Maine coast, he learned of the abandonment of his colony, and, taking two men and a small trading stock in the Swan's shallop, sailed for Weymouth to see what could be done to re-establish the colony. During a storm off Rye Beach the boat was capsized and the stock lost, and, when Weston and the two men reached the shore, the Indians seized their guns, clothing, and the few things that they had saved. From a Scotchman, located near the mouth of the Piscataqua River, they obtained a few garments and proceeded to Plymouth, where Weston so persistently pleaded poverty on account of his Weymouth and Plymouth ventures having been unremunerative that Bradford and those at the head of the Plymouth colony secretly loaned him a hundred beaver skins, "enough to make a mutinie among the people, seeing there was no other means to procure them food which they so much wanted." This secret use of the property of the colony was the only act for which Bradford was ever criticised. With these skins Weston returned to Maine, and, being now able to purchase a small stock of goods, fitted out the Swan for a trading expedition along the coast. But the loan he never repaid, and so great was his bitterness toward the colonists that the skins were hardly stowed away in his boat before he openly

boasted that he would get the leaders into trouble for exceeding their authority.

As the spring of 1623 advanced, it became evident to all that the Plymouth colonists would again be short of corn. This was due largely to their having to provide for those who had come over in the *Fortune* and to their losing such a large quantity of green corn from the fields the year before. Although they were able to get ducks, wild turkey, and an occasional deer, which with fish, lobsters, and clams would carry them through the summer and fall, the vital thing now was to devise some plan to have enough corn for their use during the following winter.

During the two previous years, communism had been tried under more than ordinarily favorable conditions, for it was a community of sober, industrious people. The few lazy ones, however, shared equally with the industrious, and this discouraged production and put a premium upon indifference. The assumption, too, that all the settlers should be on an equality—not only have alike, but be alike—had much to do, as Bradford wrote, in taking away “that mutual respect which is good to preserve in a community.” With the feeling of discontent growing, the leaders decided that for a year a separate piece of land should be assigned to each household on the basis of an acre for every member; that each family should raise his own crop, to be cultivated as the holder desired; that the different lots should be drawn for; and that a

portion of each crop should be delivered into the public storehouse in order that the stockholders should receive a return for their investments. Under this plan a much larger area was planted, as it inspired greater individual industry. There was now that personal responsibility which was sure to secure the best results; and "the women now went willingly into the field and took their little-ones with them to set corn when before they would alledge weakness and inability and whom to have compelled would have been thought a great tyranny and oppression."

By the time the seed-corn was planted their last year's crop was exhausted, so that during the three months before harvest time the colonists were without corn, their only grain for bread. As they now had a fishing net, a few cod lines and hooks, the men in relays of six or seven took one of the shallops and fished for cod, and, as these squads were not to return without a supply of fish, the boat was sometimes away five and six days at a time. Standish in the mean time was sent in the other shallop to the Maine fishing fleet for provisions. Although he was able to purchase but little, the colonists were never on the verge of starvation, as has been so often written, for fish and wild fowl could be had in abundance, and clams always could be dug at low water. Of these times Bradford wrote, "They bore their hardships with great patience and in spite of scanty fare God in His mercy preserved both health and life." Even Brewster, who had en-

joyed the luxuries of court life, gave thanks to God each day "that he and his were permitted to suck the abundance of the seas and of the treasures hid in the sands."

In July the ship *Plantation* anchored in the harbor, having on board Francis West, whom the Council for New England had made admiral over its territory for the purpose of obtaining a revenue from the fishing fleet. While the vessel was here, the captain, seeing how necessary it was for the colonists to have provisions, offered to sell to them two hogsheads of peas, but at such an exorbitant price that most of the colonists refused to submit to the extortion, although before the vessel sailed some did buy small quantities.

Fourteen days after the departure of the *Plantation* the *Anne*, a vessel of one hundred and forty tons, arrived, and ten days later the *Little James*, a pinnace of forty-four tons. Both vessels had left England together, but had become separated during the voyage over. On these two vessels there were ninety-six new settlers. As several of these arrivals were the wives, children, or kindred of the earlier settlers, many families were now reunited. Among them were two of the daughters of Elder Brewster, the wife of Samuel Fuller, Mrs. Southworth, who afterwards married Governor Bradford, and Barbara—her last name being unknown—who later became the wife of Myles Standish. But the new-comers found

the colony far different from what they had pictured. The log houses seemed rough and unattractive when compared with the English homes which they had so lately left. The clothes of many of the settlers were torn and shabby. The food was lobsters, clams, and fish, and the only thing which they had to drink was water. Scanty fare, constant exposure, hard and grinding toil, had taken the freshness from the faces of all. "Seeing this, some wished themselves in England again; others fell a weeping, fancying their own miserie in what they saw in others."

As the new arrivals had brought with them a supply of food sufficient to last until they could raise a crop for themselves, they decided not to deliver over this stock for the common use, fearing lest it also be soon exhausted. On the other hand, many of the colonists, who had worked early and late to raise a crop for themselves, thinking that the supply brought over in the *Anne* would not last these new settlers until the next year's harvest, were unwilling to have it contributed to a stock for common distribution. It was, therefore, agreed that the stores brought over should be the exclusive property of the new-comers, and that the coming harvest should belong to those who planted it.

There were still other complications, as forty of the new arrivals wished to form a separate colony within the colonial grant. These called themselves Particulars in distinction to the other colonists, who

were called Generals. After a conference, however, it was agreed that the Particulars should have land assigned to them within the town; that, excepting military duties, they should be free from all labor expected from the others; that they should carry on no trade with the Indians; that they should contribute annually to the public treasury a bushel of corn for each man over sixteen years of age; and that they should obey all laws enacted by the colony.

For seven weeks there had now been no rain, and the growing corn was beginning to wither and die. A third failure of the corn crop would probably mean the abandonment of the colony. Hobomok was already mourning over the ruined crops, and even the most courageous among them had begun to despair. "Above all people in the world, they felt that they had now need to cast themselves upon God for his mercies," and, accordingly, a day was appointed for public prayer. The hot July day on which the services were held was never to be forgotten by the Pilgrims. From morning till night, in their sanctuary on the hill, they prayed for rain, but the sky remained without a cloud, and the hot sun continued to parch their fields of corn. About sunset, however, as they were starting down the hill to their homes, after nine hours of prayer, clouds began to gather, and that evening it began to rain. This rain continued at intervals for fourteen days. Of the incident Winslow wrote, "It was hard to say whether our withered corn or our drooping affections

were most quenched and revived, for such was the bounty and goodness of God." Upon Hobomok and the Indians the event made a deep impression, and from that time they often spoke of the wonderful goodness of the white man's God. Among the colonists there were but few who did not believe it a special dispensation, and, accordingly, they set apart a day for prayers of thanksgiving, this day being the second Thanksgiving Day of the Pilgrims.

On September twentieth the Anne sailed for England with a cargo of clapboards and what furs they had on hand, the Little James being left for a fishing and trading vessel. Those obviously unfit for pioneer life who had come over in the Anne were also sent back in her at the expense of the colony. Winslow also returned in her to purchase many things needed, and to devise some plan with the London stockholders for the future welfare of the colony. Already the harvest season was at hand, and as there was a sufficient supply of corn for the coming year, and the more industrious had grain to sell, all were now convinced of the advantages of individual labor. In fact, never after this time was there a want of corn in the colony.

Later that month, word reached Plymouth that the Paragon with Robert Gorges, the son of Ferdinando Gorges, and some new settlers had arrived at the deserted village of Weymouth. He had brought with him from the Council for New England a commission making him governor-general of its whole territory.

Under this commission there were to be associated with him as councillors Admiral West, one Captain Christopher Levitt, the governor of the Plymouth colony, and such other men as he should appoint, full authority being given him and any two of his council to decide all civil and criminal cases. He had at once notified Governor Bradford of his arrival, but, before Bradford was able to pay him a visit, the *Paragon* put into Plymouth Harbor during a storm, while on its way to Maine where Gorges was going for the purpose of arresting Weston. At Plymouth Gorges remained two weeks, much pleased with the place and the courtesies shown him. While the *Paragon* was here, the *Swan* came into the harbor with Weston on board. Hardly had the *Swan* dropped anchor before Weston was called to account by Gorges for the frauds practised on his father and the bad management of the Weymouth settlement, Weston, through the intercession of Bradford, being twice saved from arrest. Leaving the *Paragon* to be fitted out for Virginia, where she was to take some of the passengers who had come over in her, Gorges returned to Weymouth by land, but hardly had he gone before Weston began to ridicule the fact that Bradford had saved him from arrest. A few days later Gorges, repenting of his leniency, had Weston put under arrest, and brought to Weymouth, where he was kept that winter. The following spring he was allowed to leave in the *Swan* for Virginia, and from that time, except as their con-

stant defamer, never again troubled the Plymouth colonists. After a few months at Weymouth, Gorges, finding the rough life of New England not to his taste, returned to England, some of the Weymouth colony going back with him, others going to Virginia, and the few who remained being given aid from time to time by the Plymouth colony. After the departure of Gorges no successor was appointed in his place, and more than sixty years passed before another governor-general was put over the Plymouth colony.

In November of this year, 1623, while the *Paragon* and the *Swan* were in Plymouth Harbor, the thatch on the roof of one of the houses caught fire during a carousal of some of the sailors ashore, and, before the flames could be extinguished, four of the houses were destroyed. As these houses were close to the storehouse where the trading goods brought over in the *Anne* and the colony's winter supply of food were kept, there was the greatest excitement. While some were advising the removal of the goods from the storehouse, an unknown voice shouted out that the settlers must be on their guard, as there were enemies among them, and, during the confusion, smoke was seen coming from the shed attached to the storehouse. From a firebrand found it was evident that an incendiary was at work. The timely discovery of the firebrand, however, saved the storehouse from being destroyed. From remarks overheard during the fire many of the colonists always believed that an attempt was made that night

by the discordant element among them to destroy the colony.

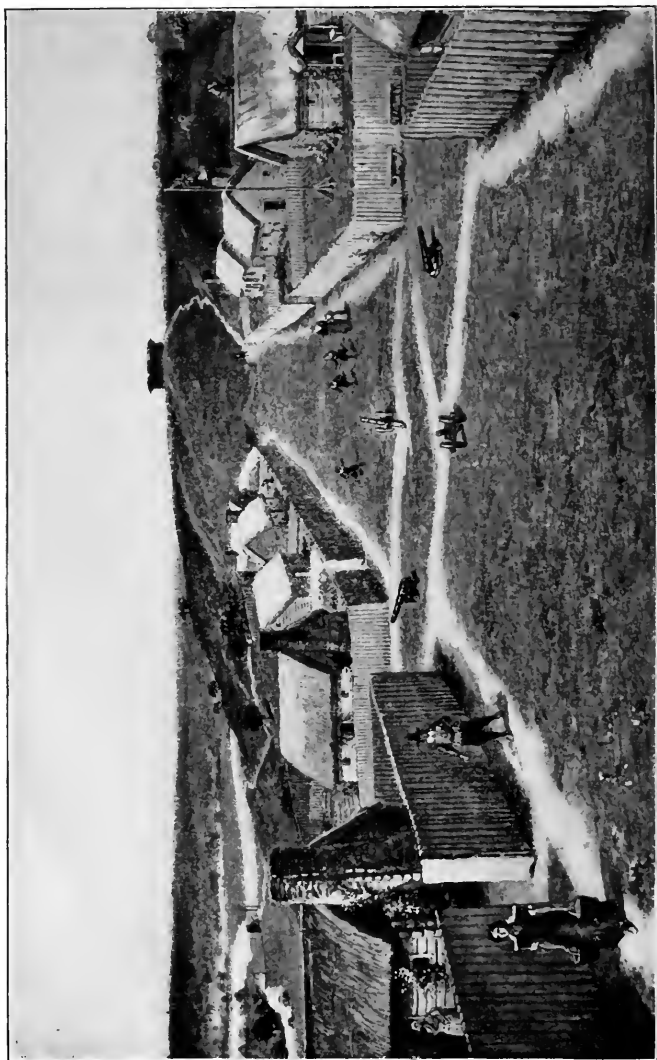
With Gorges there had been sent over by the Council for New England a clergyman of the Established Church, with full authority to regulate all public worship in the territory. For nearly a year this man made his home in Plymouth, studying the anthropology of the Indians and the natural history of the country. During this time, seeing the kind of men he would have to deal with, and that it was easier to confer powers in the Old World than to enforce them in the New, he said nothing of his ecclesiastical commission. Only after he left did these Congregationalist settlers know that he had had full power to compel them to conform to the Church of England from which they had separated at so great a sacrifice.

Although this first attempt to establish conformity came to nothing, many who were now in the colony were opposed to religious freedom, and among the Particulars many were secretly at work promoting this opposition. This movement was begun by privately sending to London in the Anne complaints that there was much religious controversy in the colony; that religious exercises were neglected by the different families on Sunday; that neither of the two sacraments was used; and that the children were not catechised or taught to read. Behind these complaints it was obvious that there was a hidden purpose to bring these Separatists back to Episcopacy. Robinson had

already suspected what was being attempted, and had written to Brewster that the London stockholders were continually raising objections to either himself or any of the Leyden church people going to Plymouth. "I persuade myself," he wrote, "that for me, they of all other are unwilling I should be transported, . . . thinking if I come over their market will be mard in many regards."

With the close of this year there were one hundred and eighty persons in the colony. Up to this time the only records were the minutes made in Governor Bradford's note-book, but with this larger colony it was thought necessary to have a statute book. The first entry, dated December twenty-seventh, marked an important development of the colony, it being recorded that "all criminal acts and all matters of trespass and debt between man and man shall be tried by the verdict of twelve honest men." Trial by jury as the right of every one was thus for the first time established in America—a step which was the beginning of a long series of enactments which later became the standard of American jurisprudence.

The settlement now stretched down the slope of the hill to the bay. We see the stockade, with its four bastions—this stockade, which was half a mile in length, beginning on the shore beyond Cole's Hill and extending around Fort Hill to the brook; the bastion near the shore having a gate which opened to the beach beyond; the second bastion on the bluff with



THE PLYMOUTH SETTLEMENT, 1623

a gate which opened to the Indian path leading to Massachusetts Bay; back of Fort Hill the third and largest bastion, which defended the position most exposed on account of the high land beyond having no gate; and close by the Town Brook the fourth bastion with its gate opening to the "Nemasket path" which led to Narragansett Bay. We see on the top of the hill the fort-church which played such an important part both in the civil and ecclesiastical life of the colony, so located on the easterly side of the top of the hill that it commanded the brook, the ford, and the street. We know that this fort, twenty-four feet square, was built of large sawed plank; that its flat roof was supported by large oak beams which projected beyond the walls to prevent the building being scaled; that on the roof were six cannons mounted behind a bulwark, and that underneath, to light the interior, were small windows like port-holes. We know also that these one hundred and eighty settlers now had thirty-one small houses, most of them divided into three rooms with a loft overhead; that they were of hewn logs, with thatched roofs and outside chimneys of stone laid in clay; and that the windows were the skins of animals or paper saturated with linseed oil. We know that now there were houses on both sides of the street which had been laid out the first year, as well as on a cross street leading from the ford over the brook to the gate in the stockade on the bluff; and that, where the two roadways crossed, four small cannon commanded both roadways.

Although the colonists were not properly equipped for pioneer life, we know that the settlement—made up largely of young married people, as the older members of the church had not yet come over—had now an atmosphere of thrift and prosperity; that every house had its vegetable garden, and most of the houses blooming vines running over them; that Governor Bradford's house was under the hill at the corner of the two roadways; that further up the hill was Myles Standish's house; and that Elder Brewster's house was on the corner diagonally across from the governor's house where there was a spring of water. We know that the cottages along the main street were enclosed by a fence high enough to be used as a stockade in case of any sudden attack by Indians when within the settlement, and that this gave to the street a very trim appearance; that at the foot of the street the building which was once used as their meeting-house was now used for their trading stock, and had attached to it a large shed made of interwoven boughs chinked with clay; and that under the bluff were three log buildings where corn, furs, beaver skins, heavy merchandise, salt, and the tools of the colony were stored, these buildings being near the pier where their two shallops lay. The colonists had long known that the brook afforded a passage to a favorite spawning-bed for herring, and Squanto had told them that this fish made good manure for their cornfields. Following his advice, we know that there had been built across the

brook two dams, with a gate in the lower one from which two long arms, built of planks, extended out to direct the course of the herring as they nosed their way up the brook; that between these two dams ten and twelve thousand herring would often come with a single tide; and that, when the gates were closed and the water went out with the ebb tide through the lattice in the lower dam, the fish were taken out in baskets and put into the ground with the seed-corn.

We also know a little of the daily life at this time: that poultry, goats, and swine now supplied the settlers with eggs, milk, and pork; that they frequently had venison, wild ducks, and wild turkey; that every morning Governor Bradford assigned to the men whatever public work was necessary, either clearing land, making clapboards to be shipped to England, hewing out timber, making tar and soap, or trading with the Indians; that the rest of the time the men did as they chose, either working in their cornfields, digging clams, getting lobsters or fishing, and hunting, as game was plentiful,—all carrying their guns with them wherever their work might be. We know that at this time letters from home came only two or three times a year; and, although the colonists were isolated from the rest of the world, that the men met after sundown to talk over the affairs of England and their own local politics, while their thrifty housewives gossiped and built air-castles. We know that Bradford was always busy with the every-day details of the colony and in settling the trivial disputes

which were constantly arising; that Standish was occupied in training the men in military manœuvres and in posting the different sentries on the bastions and at the fort; and that Brewster had to prepare two long sermons for each Sunday, but worked in the corn-fields during his spare time, which, however, was seldom, as his nature was so sympathetic that all came to him with their griefs.

To the colonists, life was too serious for idleness or frivolities, and from sunrise to sunset all were busy. Within the stockade several Indians were always wandering about, as a great deal of trading with the different tribes was now carried on, and at the wharf and in the storehouse there was always more or less activity and bustle. The oppressive quietness of Sunday was broken only when, morning and afternoon, the beat of the drum called the colonists to church. At this time all met in front of Standish's house, and, led by a sergeant, silently marched up the hill to the church. Behind the sergeant walked the governor in his long robe; on his right, Elder Brewster in clerical clothes; and, on his left, Standish, carrying his side-arms. Then came the colonists and their families in twos and threes, all wearing wide white collars and long white cuffs, the men with high conical-shaped hats, knickerbockers, buckled shoes, and blouses belted at the waist, each with his musket or firelock. These they carried into their fort-church with them, and kept beside them, that they might at all times be ready for an attack by Indians.

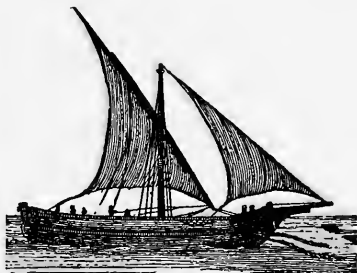
CHAPTER VIII

THE FIRST ALLOTMENT OF LAND

1624

The beginning of the new year in England, prior to 1752, was on March twenty-fifth. As the new year of 1624 approached Gov-

ernor Bradford declined a third election, for he believed that one of the purposes of an annual town meeting was to have the offices held by different persons. The people, however, insisted upon



A SHALLOP

re-electing him, and, there being now many duties connected with the government of the colony, five "assistants" were also elected, this council, which was increased to seven members in 1633, being the beginning of executive councils in the United States.

The experiment of allotting land to the colonists, made the year before, had not only insured a good crop of corn, but had also given to the more industrious a surplus. "Those who had some to spare began to trade one with another for small things by ye quaret pottle & peck, etc., for money they had none, and if

they had come it was preferred before it." Corn having now taken the place of money, the colonists, knowing that if they could have the same land for successive years it could be brought into a good state of cultivation, petitioned the governor and council to allot them definite tracts until the contract with the London stockholders should expire in 1627. After careful consideration this petition was granted, and, although the governor and council knew it was a violation of their contract with the stockholders, they divided two hundred acres of the land into ninety-seven lots, and allotted an acre to each of the one hundred and eighty people in the colony. As a part of this land was outside the stockade, this allotment brought about the first spreading out of the settlement—a part being across the Town Brook where Hobomok, their faithful Indian ally, received one of the lots for himself and his family.

It was about this time that Winslow returned in the *Charity*, Bradford writing, "The ship came on fishing—a thing fatal to this plantation." So strong, however, were the Londoners possessed with the fishing mania that Cushman had sent over a letter saying, "I am sorry we have not sent you more and other things, but in truth we have run into so much charge to victual the ship, provide salt, and other fishing implements, etc., as we could not provide other comfortable things as butter, sugar, etc." While in England, Winslow and Cushman had obtained a grant of land bordering on Gloucester Harbor, the

patent for which Winslow brought over with him. Here the colonists now built a fishing stage to cure codfish on, and left a man in charge to trade with the Indians for beaver and other skins. Winslow also brought over a bull and three heifers, "the first beginning of any cattle in the land." These were pastured outside the stockade where grass was abundant, but on account of wolves some one was always left in charge of them. A shipwright and a salt-maker had also come over in the *Charity*. The shipwright built two shallops and a large scow for getting their cargoes ashore, and, while getting out timber for a small two-masted vessel, died of a fever. The salt-maker, after several expensive failures at salt-making both at Plymouth and Gloucester, was finally obliged to abandon the attempt.

Now that the colony was proving a success, the majority of the London stockholders, being Puritans, began intriguing to get it under Puritan control. This the colonists were not long in finding out. They also knew that the bishops and those in authority were opposed to a Separatist colony on the ground that all England's colonists should conform to the religion of the State, and, although the Plymouth settlers were apparently remote from interference, the English prelates kept themselves well informed of the religious movements in the colony and were ever ready to interfere whenever and wherever they saw the opportunity. They had also the hope that these emigrants, now

without their pastor, John Robinson, would fall back into the forms and faith of the Established Church.

With these ideas in mind there had been sent over in the Charity one John Lyford, a clergyman of the Church of England, with his wife and four children. Both Winslow and Cushman had opposed his coming, but, as the scheming London stockholders agreed that he should have no pastoral position if the colonists did not see fit to offer it, Winslow and Cushman, not knowing that a plot was under way, finally yielded for the sake of peace. Lyford not long after his arrival professed conversion to Congregationalism, and obtained membership in the church. He also offered to renounce his Episcopal ordination, but Elder Brewster explained to him that, although their faith was positive and strong, they had no formal creed; that they recognized the spiritual fraternity of all who believed in the Christian faith; and that one of the tenets of their church, as laid down by John Robinson, was "that neither we or any of ours in the confession of their faith renounce or in one word contest with the Church of England." Lyford's protestations had seemed sincere, and so much did he bewail the entanglements, which he said his Episcopal calling had brought upon him that, although not chosen pastor, he was at times allowed to preach.

The complaints which the Particulars had sent to England in the Anne had now taken an official form, and a letter from the London stockholders was sent

over in the Charity, asking for an explanation. The instigator of these complaints in the colony, one Oldham, was a man of little education, but of some ability, and after the departure of the Anne he had assured the Particulars that no more supplies would be sent over. He was, therefore, much surprised when the Charity arrived with merchandise and cattle, and, believing that the London stockholders had decided not to make an issue with the colonists, he went to those in authority, and, confessing that "he had done them wrong both by word and deed, and by writing to England," begged that the past be forgiven.

It was not long, however, before Lyford and Oldham were secretly conferring with those not in sympathy with the Plymouth church, and it soon became evident that a faction was forming against the government. Later, when the Charity was getting ready to sail, it was noticed that Lyford spent much time writing letters home. As a year might elapse before anything written by Lyford could be contradicted, the council, suspicious that new slanders were being sent back, decided to have his letters examined. It was, therefore, planned that, when Winslow, who was to return in the Charity as the colony's agent, went aboard, Bradford should go to the vessel with him, and that these letters should then be opened. This was accordingly done, and, when the letters were examined, they were found to be filled with malicious

falsehoods for the "ruin and utter subversion of the colony," most of them being written by Lyford, although Oldham, who was a poor penman, sent two or three. From these letters it was seen that Lyford and Oldham were working against both the church and the colony, and had planned as soon as the ship sailed to form a new church. Copies were made of most of these letters, and, to prevent Lyford and Oldham denying the correspondence, some were kept, and in their stead copies were sent. It was also discovered that Lyford had long been a spy; that before the *Charity*, which had brought him over, had sailed from England, he had opened two letters found in the cabin—one a letter which Winslow had written to Robinson and one which a friend had written to Brewster.

Bradford's errand to the *Charity* being surmised by the conspirators, they expected to be called to account as soon as he came ashore, but, when two weeks went by and nothing was said, they believed he had only gone aboard to say good-bye to his friend, Captain Peirce. Believing that they could now control a majority of the votes in a town meeting, Oldham accordingly brought things to a crisis by refusing to go on sentry duty. Drawing a knife, he called Standish a "beggarly rascal," and during the commotion, when told by Bradford to be more orderly, called them all traitors. For this and "other foul language" he was put under arrest. He had expected a rescue by his friends,

but, no demonstration being made in his behalf, he submitted to imprisonment. As the plan for an open revolt had failed, the faction now schemed to meet some Sunday, and to have Lyford hold services according to the form of worship of the Church of England. During the summer this was done, Lyford at the service taking special pains to be offensive to the religion of the colony.

We know that the leaders at once called a town meeting, believing the time had now come to confront Lyford and Oldham with the intercepted letters. This meeting was held at sundown in the fort-church on the hill. We can easily picture it—the low beams of the ceiling giving to the interior of the church the appearance of the hold of a ship; Bradford and the council on a platform at the end of the hall; Standish with some of his men under arms, ready for any emergency; the room overcrowded with colonists having their guns beside them—all much excited over what the outcome was to be, as none knew which party was in the majority. Then came the restrained excitement when the meeting was called to order; the silence broken only by the tread of the sentinel on the roof and the whispered conversation of the women and children anxiously waiting outside the church.

We know that Bradford now charged Lyford and Oldham with secretly plotting to overthrow the government; that Lyford, believing Bradford would be unable to produce any definite proofs, assumed as-



THE TRIAL OF LYFORD

tonishment at being suspected of collusion, and declared that he knew nothing of the colony's English enemies or their plans. We know that some of Lyford's letters were now read; that some showed that he had advised those in England to prevent Robinson and the others at Leyden joining the colony; that others charged mismanagement; that still others urged the London stockholders to send over enough new colonists to outnumber the present settlers. We know that Bradford now reminded Lyford of his request to be made a member of their church, and that, when he and his family were being supported at the expense of the colony, he had been plotting its ruin. During the silence which followed, Lyford; as he stood there convicted of treachery, knavery, and hypocrisy, was then asked to explain his actions, but was speechless. Finally, giving way to tears, he confessed the wrong he had done, and begged forgiveness.

We know that Oldham, who had watched the humiliation of this university-trained divine, took a different course. Determined to try immediate conclusions with the government, he denounced the right of Bradford to open his letters, and, boldly asking those of courage to join him, then and there demanded a change in the government. But his friends now deserted him, and, as he stood there alone, no voice was raised in his favor. Now that the crisis was passed, Lyford was asked if those in authority were justified in opening the suspected letters, and, no answer being

made, a letter was read which convicted him of opening the letters of Winslow and Brewster. Then the letter was read in which Lyford had said that the Pilgrims would have none but Separatists in Plymouth, and Bradford, denouncing this as "a false calumination," called the attention of all to the fact that there were already among them many not Separatists, and that the colony desired to have others there like them. It was now voted that Oldham should leave the colony at once; that his family should be allowed to remain until he could make a home for them elsewhere; and that Lyford should leave at the end of six months.

Thus the most important meeting ever held in the Plymouth colony ended. It had been a crucial test of the strength of the government. With rare common sense Bradford had used, to the best advantage and at the right moment, facts which had brought to his support a powerful faction that had come there opposed to the government. Although he knew nothing of politics, he had shown that special gift of meeting emergencies as they arise and that political shrewdness which we call statesmanship—qualities which would have classed him with trained diplomats.

Soon after this shaking up of the colony, the *Little James*, having proved an unlucky vessel, was sent back to England. When her crew, who had shipped on shares, first arrived at Plymouth, they had been kept from deserting only by Bradford agreeing to pay them regular wages. Later, when returning from a

trading trip around the Cape, her main-mast broke during a storm as she was sailing into Plymouth Harbor, and she barely escaped being wrecked on Brown's Island Shoals. Afterwards, when she was sent on a fishing trip to the Maine coast, she struck a rock and sank, the colonists only being able to raise her, four months later, by chartering some of the vessels of the fishing fleet. As this expense and the cost of necessary repairs had used up the beaver skins set aside for the London stockholders, the colonists decided to send her back to England.

In September, a few days before the *Little James* sailed, one of the colonists who was going back in her handed to Governor Bradford a letter that Lyford had secretly asked him to take with him. This letter upon being opened showed the utter depravity of the man. Only a short time before he had, at a church meeting, publicly made a confession of his sins with tears larger than before, and it had been voted that he should be allowed to remain in the colony. In the letter now written he assured the already discontented stockholders that the colonists were untruthful in their statements, that they were working for their own advantage at the expense of the stockholders, and "that ye church, as they called themselves though ye smallest member in the Colony, deprived the majority of the means of salvation and poor souls were complaining of it with tears to him." Concerning his former letters he wrote, "I suppose my letters or at least copies of them are come

to your hands, . . . and I pray you take notice of this that I have written nothing but what is certainly true." As these letters were the ones for which he had so tearfully begged forgiveness, there was now no longer any thought of permitting him to remain permanently in the colony, although on account of his wife and children he was allowed to stay through the winter. In the spring he joined Oldham at Hull, where a few straggling settlers from the Weymouth colony were located, Roger Conant, one of the most respected of the Plymouth colonists, and a few others going with him. The next year Lyford went with Conant to where Gloucester now is, then a small fishing station and trading post established in 1623 by some merchants of the shire-town of Dorset, England. Later, with the abandonment of this settlement, Lyford, Conant, and some of the other Gloucester settlers went to Naumkeag, the site of the present Salem, and here Lyford remained until 1629, when he accepted a call from a Virginia parish where he lived until his death.

The year had been a crucial one for the leaders of the colony, as the year before had been the critical one of the colony's existence. Before the year ended, however, there was among the colonists, both in church and in civil affairs, harmonious action which long continued. Contrary to what has been generally understood, the dismissal of Lyford had not been because the colonists were opposed to Episcopacy, but because they feared that the object of the new-comers, of whom Lyford was

a ringleader, was a desire for ecclesiastical absorption rather than religious equality. Past experience had made them believe that the introduction of the national Church religion at this time would cost them their religious liberty. With an iron will and heavy hand men in England were being driven into conformity, and these pioneers felt that the freedom for which they had sacrificed so much would be lost if the Episcopal system, with the power of the government to enforce it, should at this time be introduced among them. During this year a few of the colonists returned to England, but as others had joined them, there were still about one hundred and eighty persons in the settlement. Many among them were not Separatists, and the church, still feeling its way along, had not yet adopted any creed. Their fellow-churchmen in Leyden were now accustomed to invite to their communion Episcopalians, Lutherans, and Calvinists, and Robinson had often said that he honored the clergy of the Church of England. If, therefore, a better man and more worthy Churchman had been sent over in Lyford's place, it is quite probable, as the church was still without a minister, that Congregationalism would have slowly yielded, and for a time at least the colony would have adopted the Episcopal form of worship, which for three centuries had been the religion of the English race.

CHAPTER IX

THE COLONY ABANDONED BY THE LONDON STOCKHOLDERS

1625

A fleet of not less than fifty vessels now annually traded along the New England coast, and the appear-



CHARLES I.

ance of a vessel in Plymouth Harbor was a matter of such ordinary occurrence that it had ceased to excite surprise. In March, 1625, Oldham, in defiance of his sentence, had sailed into the harbor with some of his fellow-colonists of Hull, and, coming ashore, had used such abusive language that he was put under arrest. In the afternoon he

was marched to his boat between two rows of soldiers who were ordered, as he passed, "to thump him in the rear with the butts of their muskets," and he was told, as his boat left shore, "to goe and mende his manners." So thoroughly had the colony been wrought up over the "mad fury" of Oldham that they had failed to notice the arrival of the ship Jacob, and, while Oldham was running the gauntlet, Winslow and Captain Peirce, formerly of the Charity, came ashore.

From Winslow the colonists now learned that the London stockholders had practically abandoned the enterprise, and that, at the termination of the contract in 1627, the assets of the colony would be used to pay the outstanding indebtedness, now amounting to over fourteen hundred pounds. From the Puritan faction among the stockholders, Winslow had brought with him a letter saying that they had come to this conclusion because they believed the Pilgrims were Brownists, and that they, being Puritans, would be sinning against God in building up such a people, but that, if they were given a voice in the local self-government, they would again co-operate. Others among these stockholders had publicly said that they would refuse to allow Robinson or any of the Leyden church to join the colony without written promises to conform to the doctrine of the Church of England. Some of the stockholders, however, still friendly to the colonists, wrote that these religious objections were merely a subterfuge, and that the enterprise had been given up because there were no funds to carry it on.

This withdrawal of the London stockholders was a serious blow to the colony. Charles I. was now king, and Cushman, who had written the colonists that there were mysterious threats of Parliamentary proceedings against them, now advised them to take up the outstanding indebtedness to use as an offset against whatever claims the English stockholders might have against the assets of the colony. This he specially urged, fearing

the colonists would not build fences and set out fruit-trees if, at the termination of the contract, the property was to be taken from them to pay the debts of the colony.

In the Jacob some of these stockholders had sent over, on their private account, a stock of cloth, hose, shoes, and leather, some trading goods and four young cattle, and, when she left on a fishing trip to Cape Ann, Standish and some of the colonists went in her to look after their property in Gloucester Harbor. Here they found that some of the unfriendly London stockholders had sent over one Captain Hewes, who had taken possession of the fishing stage, and, when he refused to give it up, the impetuous Standish at once prepared to seize it. Hewes in the mean time had placed his men with loaded muskets upon the stage behind a barricade of barrels, and it was only through the intercession of Captain Peirce and Roger Conant, whom the Dorsetshire men had made the manager of their Gloucester trading post, that bloodshed was avoided by all agreeing to build together another stage.

Soon after this episode the Dorsetshire settlement was given up, partly because the Plymouth colonists claimed to own the land, but principally because it had not proved a successful venture financially, Conant and a few of the settlers, left to shift for themselves, now starting the settlement at Naumkeag. In the fall, on the return of the Little James and a larger vessel that had come over in the spring on a fishing trip to

Cape Cod, Standish was sent back to interest, if possible, some English merchants in the enterprise.

During this year many of the Weymouth settlers, who had become dissatisfied with their locality on account of its inaccessible harbor and the lack of water communication with the interior, left the settlement—among them being Thomas Walford, a blacksmith who built an “English palisaded and thatched house” at the mouth of the Charles River where Charlestown now is; William Blackstone, a Puritan minister and an eccentric book recluse, who located a mile up the river on the west slope of what is now Beacon Hill, Boston; and Samuel Maverick, a stanch Churchman, who established a trading post and built a sort of fort on Noddle’s Island, now East Boston.

This same year a settlement was started at Nantasket, and another at Wollaston, now a part of Quincy. This Wollaston settlement was a business venture of one Captain Wollaston, who brought over with him as partners three or four men not without means and some thirty or forty indented servants, or persons who sold their service for a term of years. One of these partners, Thomas Morton—probably one of Weston’s settlers at Weymouth in 1623—by his glowing description of the place had persuaded Wollaston to make the venture. Finding the Weymouth plantation occupied, they had selected as the site of their plantation a place two miles away, where Wollaston now is. This place had already been cleared of

trees by the Indians, and that summer they laid out their plantation and erected their buildings. In the fall, Captain Wollaston, becoming satisfied that there was little profit in the enterprise, took most of the servants with him to the more congenial climate of Virginia, the ten left behind being put in the charge of one Fletcher, against whom Morton soon excited a mutiny which resulted in Fletcher's expulsion from the colony. Under Morton the name of the place was now changed from Wollaston to Merry Mount, and, according to his own accounts, he and his followers led a roystering, drunken life, exchanging spirits, arms, and ammunition with the Indians for beaver skins.

As the Council for New England had for some time past been "a dead carcass," as Gorges expressed it, the bold idea was conceived of dividing the company's grant among its different members and giving them power to convey land to settlers. Under this irregular proceeding Lord Sheffield had already conveyed to Cushman and Winslow the five hundred acres that the Plymouth colony held at Cape Ann, and, as other grants had been made by the different members of the Council, many new settlers arrived in Massachusetts Bay and vicinity in 1624 and 1625, most of these being Puritans who had little sympathy with the Plymouth Congregationalists, whom they still called Brownists. With these people the Plymouth colonists had business relations, but nothing else in common,

as the Plymouth colonists' whole time was occupied in fishing, in traffic with the Indians, in the manufacture of lumber, in attending to their fish-drying and fur-buying station at Cape Ann, in making trading trips "on the coast to the eastward," and in the cultivation of corn and tobacco, which required much labor on account of the unproductiveness of the soil.



OLDHAM PUT UNDER ARREST

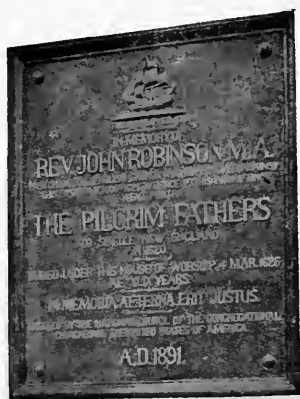
CHAPTER X

FUR-TRADING ALONG THE MAINE COAST

1626

In April, 1626, Standish returned from England. He had arrived there at a most unfortunate time, as the

Council for New England, which he had tried to interest in the colony, were too much disturbed over the tyranny of the new king, Charles I., to be willing to enter into any further ventures. Moreover, London was then suffering from an unusual epidemic of small-pox, so that practically no business was being carried on in the city. After five months of fruitless effort Standish borrowed one hun-



THE ROBINSON TABLET AT
LEYDEN

dred and fifty pounds at fifty per cent. interest. With this he purchased a stock of goods for the colony, and returned home on one of the Maine fishing fleet.

Upon his arrival the colonists now learned of the death of Robert Cushman, who had expected to join the colony the year before, but had remained to straighten out, if possible, their affairs, and who, as far as their English

interests were concerned, "was their right hand." Standish also brought the news of the death of John Robinson, of whom his brother-in-law, Roger White, wrote to the colonists, "If either prayers, tears or means would have saved his life, he had not gone hence." The Puritan faction had long thwarted him, and had kept him in such a state of anxiety and grief that he had been unable to withstand even a moderate attack of disease, and had died as truly a martyr as had Barrowe, Greenwood, or Penry. Of him Bradford wrote, "His and their adversaries had been long and continually plotting how they might hinder his coming hither, but ye Lord had appointed a better place."

So great was Robinson's modesty that he charged his followers to follow him no further than they found that he followed Christ, and to hold themselves ready to receive new truths from others as willingly as they accepted them from him. His progressive and liberal theology had reached beyond rigid Separatism and had touched on Unitarianism. As his views softened with time, instead of regarding as un-Christ-like his parent church, the Church of England, he was accustomed to invite to communion all who professed Christianity, and his followers, who had not unfrequently been given the offensive name of Brownists had begun to be known as Independents. Few people in that age of bigotry appreciated the broadness of his character, the depth of his learning, his refinement, and his tender susceptibility to humanity, but he is now known to have been

a man of extraordinary liberality, and it was owing to his inspiration that the Pilgrim Fathers grew into the rigidly upright men we so much reverence.

As Standish had been unable to interest others in the colony, the Pilgrims now found themselves left to their own resources. Fishing had proved unprofitable. The growing of corn, however, had become a successful venture, as they found a ready sale for what they themselves did not require. Nevertheless, this did not give them sufficient profit to meet the large debt already contracted. Since their most profitable business was trading with the Indians, they now decided to engage in it upon a more extensive scale, and, in order to carry it on to the best advantage and also to prevent local competition, they decided to put it into the hands of the shrewd traders of the colony.

Soon after this word was sent to the colony that the English trading post at Monhegan was to be given up and that the trading stock was for sale. This stock Bradford, Winslow, and David Thompson, the Scotchman living on the Piscataqua River, purchased for eight hundred pounds. Bradford and Winslow also purchased the goats on the island. While there, they heard that a French vessel had been wrecked at Sagadahoc, but that the cargo had been saved. This cargo, valued at two hundred pounds, Bradford and Winslow paid for with such beaver skins and marketable barter as they had taken with them in the shallop, excepting a small balance for which they gave their note to fall due the following year.

The commerce of the colony was now rapidly increasing, and that summer one of the colonists, a house carpenter, lengthened into a sea-going craft one of the shallops, so that they were now able to do a large amount of trading on the Kennebec River. So profitable was this trading that in the fall Allerton was sent to England to arrange for the purchase of all the shares of the London stockholders, the colonists hoping in this way to cut the knot which they could not untie.



THOUGHTS OF OLD ENGLAND

CHAPTER XI

TRADING POST ON BUZZARDS BAY

1627

In the winter of 1626-27 the Sparrowhawk on its way from England to Virginia with passengers and

merchandise had, during a storm while she was on the southern side of the Cape, pounded over a bar into the Bay of Orleans. The passengers, seeing Indians approaching in canoes, had made preparations for an attack, when the Indians asked in English if they were "the Governor of Plymouth's men."

The captain of the Sparrowhawk, now



OFF CAPE COD

learning where he was, sent two of the ship's crew to the Plymouth colony for oakum, pitch, and spikes with which to repair the vessel. These Bradford himself took to them in a shallop, sailing along the shore to Namsketet Creek, and from there walking the

two miles across the Cape to Orleans Harbor. A few days after Bradford had returned home, and while the repairs were being made, the vessel was blown ashore during another storm, and hopelessly wrecked. This resulted in the passengers coming to Plymouth, where they remained until summer, when they were taken to Virginia in two vessels which had been sent for them.

To still further increase their trading facilities, the colonists this year erected a palisaded trading house on Monumet River, near where it empties into Buzzards Bay. This post, which was twenty miles across country from Plymouth, could also be easily reached by water, as from the Plymouth side of the Cape there was only a four miles' carry from the head of navigation on the Scusset River to the head of navigation on the Monumet River on the Buzzards Bay side. The colonists were thus able not only to avoid sailing around the Cape, where there were many dangerous shoals, but were also able to reach the southern side of the Cape in a much shorter time. At this fort they kept two men who planted corn, raised swine, and in a pinnace traded with the Indians on that side of Cape Cod. This venture proved to be a profitable one, and for many years they carried their goods over this route,—a route now the proposed location of the Cape Cod Ship Canal.

The Dutch settlers at Manhattan up to this time had never put themselves in communication with the Plymouth colony, fearing competition in their prof-

itable trading with the Narragansetts and the Indians along Long Island Sound. In March, 1627, however, soon after the Monumet trading house was built, Governor Bradford received from Isaac de Rassieres, the secretary of the West India Company at Manhattan, a letter stating that the company would like to carry on with the Plymouth colonists trade for their mutual benefit. In his reply to this letter Bradford expressed the willingness of the colony to trade with the people of Manhattan, but cautioned them against settling within the territory of the Council for New England or trading with the Narragansetts and the Indians around Buzzards Bay, "which is as it were at our doors."

That same spring Allerton returned with the fishing fleet, having borrowed two hundred pounds at thirty per cent. interest with which he purchased a stock of goods. He had also obtained from the London stockholders an agreement to sell their interest in the colony for eighteen hundred pounds, two hundred pounds to be paid each year. At a town meeting, duly called, the colonists decided to accept this offer. As the colony itself was a legal nonentity, its government being based upon the consent of those governed and its only corporate existence the patent of land taken out in the name of John Pierce, it was decided that during six years, as far as any stockholders' right went, Bradford, Brewster, Standish, Winslow, Allerton, Howland, Alden, and Prence should act as the owners

of the property. At this town meeting it was also voted, if Bradford and his associates, who were to be known as Undertakers, would guarantee the necessary payments to the English stockholders, would pay the debts of the colony, would bring over from Leyden the remainder of the church, and would each year import to the value of fifty pounds hose and shoes which they would exchange with the colonists for corn at the rate of six shillings per bushel, then, in return for doing this, every colonist should pay to them, for each of the six years, three bushels of corn or six pounds of tobacco, and that they should have all the trading stock on hand, the trade of the colony, and the use of all the boats.

This the Undertakers agreed to do, and, in order that each settler might personally have an interest in the property of the colony, it was also voted that each head of a family and all self-supporting single men could become shareholders by binding themselves to pay their proportion of such annual indebtedness as the profits in trade did not defray, and that each married man could in addition take one share for his wife and one for each of his children. In this reorganization, in which one hundred and fifty-six colonists joined, there was no sectarian exclusiveness, so often attributed to the Pilgrims. Although at the meeting it was proposed to exclude all those who did not accept the doctrines of Congregationalism, the plan was rejected, and every one, whether church members,

non-church members, or anti-church members, was allowed to be a shareholder and to have a vote in the government of the colony.

In the agreement with the Undertakers the cattle, goats, swine, and their offspring had not been included, and at a town meeting held June first it was voted to distribute these among the shareholders. This was done by dividing the shareholders into twelve groups and allotting the animals to the different groups, it being agreed that those who received the animals should be responsible for any loss attributed to carelessness in the care of them, and that in ten years the animals with half their increase should be returned.

That fall Allerton went to England to notify the London stockholders that their offer was accepted, and to arrange the details of the purchase. He was also commissioned to secure a patent for a trading post on the Kennebec, as the settlers on the Piscataqua and in neighboring places were threatening to procure a grant which would exclude the Plymouth colonists from any share of the traffic there. In addition to this he was, if possible, to interest in the new company some of the former stockholders, and to make the necessary arrangements for bringing over those still in Leyden.

In August Bradford had received a reply to his letter to De Rassieres, in which De Rassieres had claimed that the Dutch had a right to trade within the limits of the Plymouth grant. To this Bradford had

replied with friendly civility, and, after demurring against "the over high titles more than belong to us or is meet for us to receive"—titles which De Rassieres had used in his letter—he gave De Rassieres clearly to understand that Plymouth would expel by force, if need be, any one who should enter its territory to interfere with their trade. He further suggested that some of the Dutch authorities visit Plymouth to make an agreement for their "mutual commerce." The result of this correspondence was that on October fourth word reached Bradford that De Rassieres had arrived on his vessel off the trading house on the Monumet River, and wished a boat sent up the Scusset to take him to Plymouth. That day, "accompanied with a noise of trumpeters and some other attendants," De Rassieres arrived at the colony, where he remained several days. During this visit an agreement was made by which trade relations were established between the two colonies which lasted many years.

It was at this time that the colonists learned from De Rassieres how successful the Dutch had been in trading wampum for furs and hides. These wampum beads, which were highly prized by the Indians, were an eighth of an inch in diameter and a quarter of an inch long. In color they were both white and purple, and, as only a small part of the shells from which they were made was purple, beads of that color were the most valuable. As it required much labor to give them proper shape, to drill holes through the

centre, and to round and polish them, they were not a cheap article with a fictitious value. As the shells from which they were made were only found along the shore as far east as Narragansett Bay, the demand for them was stimulated by the difficulty which the Indians of the interior had in obtaining them. Therefore, a brisk trade had always been carried on between the coast Indians and the tribes of the interior, furs and hides being brought to the coast to clothe the denser population there, and wampum beads carried back in exchange.

From prehistoric times these beads had been used by all Indians for decorations, the number of strings showing the social position and wealth of the wearer, some being worn around the neck, others as bracelets, and others in decorating their clothing and moccasins. In all affairs of State the chiefs and sachems wore wampum belts either around their waists or over their shoulders, like scarfs. In negotiations with other tribes these chiefs and sachems always took with them both wampum belts and the calumet, or pipe of peace, and their orators corroborated every important statement by laying down one or more belts. Promises were not considered binding without one, and they were universally used in all ceremonies. Friendships were cemented by them, alliances confirmed, and treaties sealed.

Up to the time of the arrival of the white settlers, these beads had been used only in barter, as the primi-

tive life of the Indians, whose limited wants were supplied by direct personal effort, did not demand a circulating medium, like money. But, as civilization means an interchange of services, some basis of exchange was needed with which easily to regulate payments for mutual benefits.

The Dutch with their shrewd commercial instincts had been quick to see the advantage of having at their very doors a commodity which they could easily obtain in exchange for knives, scissors, and hatchets, and afterwards sell in the interior at large profits for furs and hides. De Rassieres had brought with him to Plymouth fifty pounds of this wampum, and the colonists had reluctantly purchased it after being convinced that they could make large profits with it. As an experiment, they took some of it on a trading trip to the Kennebec, and, "when the inland Indians came to know it, they could scarce procure enough for many year together," in this way wampum shortly becoming the leading article of traffic with all the Maine Indians.

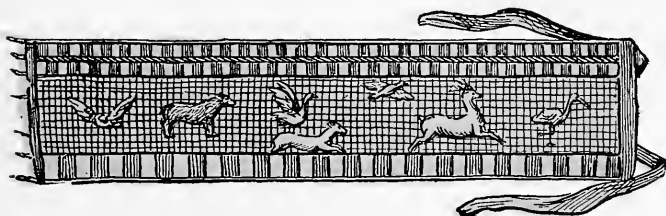
Up to this time, the colonists had used, in barter between themselves, corn, wheat, peas, poultry, butter, and cheese, but now, owing to the profits made with wampum, this at once became the circulating medium, the unit of exchange being a string of beads reaching from the elbow to the end of the little finger—one purple bead being equal in value to two white ones. Not, however, until two years later did the Cape Cod Indians appreciate the value of wampum as money, as these

shells were too near at hand to have with them more than their intrinsic value. When, however, they learned how highly the white man valued these beads, they began hoarding them, for they had little weight and were neither bulky nor unwieldy, and, when the strings were long enough, they purchased with them merchandise. They often, too, in spite of the laws to the contrary, purchased fire-arms from the French and Dutch trading vessels, these men, in turn, selling the beads at the different settlements.

It was not long before the Plymouth colonists were using these beads to such an extent that in a few years they were able to liquidate their entire indebtedness with the London stockholders, which put them upon such a firm financial basis that the Dutch feared "they would be obliged to eat oats out of English hands." No legal tender scheme of later days was ever bolder in its conception or more successfully carried out than this use by them of wampum as money. The farmer was glad to receive it for his produce, the merchant for his wares, and the laborer for his wages. To the French at the north large quantities were also sold, as these people now sought to share in the profits which this trade brought.

Soon wampum was circulating as money as much in the forest as in the settlements, and it was not long before wampum beads were made a legal tender by law. In later years the enormous demand for them brought into the market stone beads as well as rough

unstrung specimens of the genuine article. Then the Dutch began to manufacture beads with steel drills and polishing lathes, and the French to substitute porcelain for the shells. Finally, this extensive manufacture, together with the domestic coinage of silver, drove wampum beads from circulation, and glass beads took their place for Indian decorations.



WAMPUM BELT

CHAPTER XII

THE SECOND ALLOTMENT OF LAND

1628

The Plymouth settlement had now become a prosperous colony. Profitable trading was carried on



JOHN ENDICOTT

with the Indians, the land was producing more than enough for their needs, and vessels were frequently arriving with necessary supplies. Most of the families had separate houses, but, as these houses were so close together that there was constant danger of a conflagration, it was voted this year that the thatch on all the roofs be

changed to boards or paling, shingles not then being used. Other parts of Massachusetts Bay were settling rapidly. Few new colonists, however, had arrived at Plymouth, partly because the church people in England had used every means to prevent those in Leyden coming over, and partly because the colonists feared that, if others joined them, they might find themselves outnumbered, and thus have taken from them the liberty which had cost them so dear.

The acre allotment made in 1624 had now expired, and under the reorganization made in 1627 one hundred and fifty-six colonists were now owners of the grant from the Council for New England. Along Plymouth Harbor between the Eel River, two miles to the south of the village, and the Jones River, four miles to the north, there was a stretch of land which in former years had been more or less cleared by the Indians. In order to allow each stockholder an opportunity to develop as much land as he was able, it was voted on January thirteenth, 1628, to allot this land to the one hundred and fifty-six shareholders in addition to the acre each already held. To do this, the tract was divided into twenty-acre lots, the poorer portions being held in common, and the meadows retained in order that mowing privileges might be yearly assigned to those having cattle. Each of these one hundred and fifty-six little farms was four acres deep, and had five acres on the bay. It was also voted that those whose farms were to be far from the village should have the privilege of planting their corn on the nearer land for four years, and that then for a corresponding time the owners of this land should have similar privileges on the further land. It was also voted that the shareholders should have the houses in which they lived; that those having the better ones should pay something to the others according to an appraisal, and that "ye Gove^r & 4 or 5 of ye spetiall men amongst them should have their houses without any appraisal."

At this time the free and easy habits of the settlers of Merry Mount had begun to scandalize the Puritan settlers along Massachusetts Bay, who were not slow in condemning what would now be considered innocent sports as "beastly practices." But, because these Merry Mount people were also often intoxicated, besides keeping in the settlement dissolute Indian squaws and selling to the men fire-arms contrary to the proclamations of King James in 1622, it was felt that the settlement was a menace to the community, Bradford in his journal writing, "Hitherto ye Indians of these parts had no pieces nor other arms but their bows and arrows nor for many years after, neither durst they scarce handle a guine so much were they affraid of them and ye very sight of one, though out of kilter, was a terrour unto them."

The Plymouth government was now asked by the Puritan settlers of the Bay to put a stop to the scandalous way the people at Merry Mount were living, and Bradford accordingly sent a letter to Morton, requesting him to better regulate his colony and to obey the king's proclamation concerning the sale of fire-arms. To this letter Morton replied that he defied the settlers to molest him, and assured them that there would be bloodshed, should they attempt it. Upon receipt of this letter Bradford, in June, sent the Plymouth militia, under the command of Captain Standish, to subdue them. Upon their arrival they found the settlers barricaded in Morton's

house, and Morton, after taunting Standish with a volley of abuse, led his men out against the men of "Captain Shrimp," as he called Standish. In the scrimmage which followed, Morton was taken prisoner and the others surrendered, the only shedding of blood being from the nose of a drunken Merry Mount settler which was scratched with the sword point of one of Standish's men. Soon after this Morton, under arrest, was sent to England in a vessel sailing from the Isles of Shoals.

During the summer Allerton returned from England with the contract signed by the London stockholders. While there, he had prevailed upon James Sherley, John Beauchamp, Joseph Andrews, and Timothy Hatherley—four of the stockholders—to become "Undertakers" with Bradford and his associates. He had also paid the first two hundred pounds on the bond and other debts amounting to five hundred pounds, the total indebtedness of the colony being now two thousand pounds. He had also been successful in getting a grant of land on the Kennebec River, where Augusta now is, and here the colonists at once built a fortified trading house.

Without any authority from the colonists, Allerton had brought over with him a young clergyman, named Rogers, to be the pastor of their church. Why he did this has always been a mystery, as the man was found to be insane, and the colonists were obliged to pay his passage back to England. That autumn,

at the request of the English partners, Allerton again returned to England as the agent of the colony, and, because fault had been found with his previous purchases, he now received instructions what goods to purchase and what arrangement to make about getting the Leyden people over.

The success of the colony and the persistent adherence of the colonists to their Separatist principles had not failed to have its effect upon the Puritans in England. All knew that the day of strife with the government was not far off, but none could foretell the outcome. Riots in churches, forcible demolition of communion sets, surplices, and service books, were not uncommon in all parts of the kingdom, and through the press there were frequent explosions of long-stifled convictions and suppressed opinions. Many Puritans in England now believed that what had been done at Plymouth by a few men of small means might be done on a larger scale by an association of the leading Puritans, who were now a numerous and powerful party in England. During the agitation of this question a few Puritans, "being together in Lincolshire, fell into discourse about New England and the planting of the gospel there." The result of the discussion was the formation of the Massachusetts Bay Company, which in March, 1628, obtained from the Council for New England a grant of that part of New England included between three miles north of the Merrimac River and three miles south of the Charles. That

same fall there arrived at Conant's settlement at Naumkeag sixty emigrants, the beginning of a great Puritan exodus from England which was later vitally to affect the Plymouth colony.

The two great movements which made New England, therefore, had their beginnings in Lincolnshire. The one in Gainsborough resulted in the formation of the Plymouth colony: out of the second developed the settlements around Massachusetts Bay. It was not, then, by accident that Boston in Lincolnshire gave its name to the largest city of New England, and that the earliest counties of Massachusetts were called Middlesex, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex. Of the two emigrations, that of the Pilgrim Fathers was pre-eminent in romance and personal heroism; but, so far as lasting results went, the other was far more important, for, if it had not occurred, it is not certain that the Pilgrim emigration, with its slow rate of increase, would have been able to make the English language and English traditions permanent in the New World against the combined influence of the French and Dutch settlers, who found powerful allies in their Indian co-conspirators.

Upon the arrival of these sixty emigrants at Naumkeag, in September, Conant and those already located there at first disputed the authority of these new people to govern the colony. All, however, soon became friends, and the name of the place was changed from Naumkeag to the Hebrew name Salem, or peace.

During the voyage over many of these emigrants had been made ill by eating provisions preserved in unwholesome salt, and, after landing, many had died from being poorly housed in the few buildings which Roger Conant and his colonists had erected. John Endicott, who had come over as deputy governor of the colony, having learned from Conant of Doctor Fuller's skill as a physician, now sent a messenger to Plymouth, begging him to come to Salem to help them in their distress. While at Salem, Fuller made clear to these Puritan emigrants what Separatism meant, and showed them that they had false ideas of the religion of the Pilgrims. This so impressed Endicott that he wrote to Bradford: "I rejoyce much that I am by him [Fuller] satisfied touching your judgment of the outward form of God's worship. It is, as far as I can gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth and the same which I have professed ever since the Lord in mercy revealed Himself unto me, being far from the common report that hath been spread of you touching that particular."



ENGLISH MORIONS

CHAPTER XIII

TRADING POST ON THE PENOBSCOT RIVER

1629

The Puritan emigration of 1628, which was the beginning of the greatest attempt at colonization yet made by Englishmen, was brought about by ominous signs of civil war when the House of Parliament placed foremost among the nation's grievances Archbishop Laud's oppressive treatment of the Puritan party in the Church.

When the Puritans realized that "it was evident that the church had no place left to fly into but the wilderness and a shelter and abiding place could only be sought and retained beyond the seas," many became interested in a Puritan exodus to New England. These men were representative citizens, who desired to have in the New World all that was best in the life of the Old. Some were men of wealth; some had high social positions and influential connections; others were men with titles or holding prominent positions as clergymen in the English Church. Determined to establish in New England something more than a mere trad-



ARCHBISHOP LAUD

ing station liable at any time to be interfered with by the Crown, the leaders in March, 1629, obtained from King Charles a royal charter under the legal title of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England. This charter superseded all grants previously made in the territory, and gave unprecedented liberality in self-government.

The favorable reports of the country by Endicott, in his letters home, had already given impetus to the movement. Friends of those who had sailed the year before now joined the emigration, and that summer six small vessels, with four hundred and six emigrants, one hundred and forty head of cattle, forty goats, and an abundant supply of clothing, arms, ammunition and tools, sailed for Salem.

The arrival of these people made Endicott the governor of a colony larger than that of Plymouth, even after its growth of nearly nine years. As the result of Fuller's visit and influence, the sixty emigrants who had come over with Endicott had already adopted the church principles of the Plymouth plantation, and these same principles the new arrivals also adopted, with the single exception that church membership was made an essential pre-requisite to citizenship. This was done as a safeguard against the danger of a population growing up around them which, with the aid of the government at home, might try to curtail their religious liberties.

By this second exodus ninety university men had

been gained for New England—a fact which had much to do in developing the New England type of people. All these new arrivals claimed that they were loyal to the Established Church, and all emphatically denied being Separatists like the Plymouth Pilgrims, whom they still miscalled Brownists, one of the clergymen writing home, “We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate from the corruption in it.” But, although they claimed they were heart and soul Church of England men and disavowed in the strongest terms the impression which had gone abroad, “that under color of planting a colony they intended to raise and erect a seminary of faction and separatism,” they protested against the use of the Book of Common Prayer, the ceremonies connected with the ordinance of baptism, and allowing “scandalous persons” at the Lord’s Supper. They had only separated, they said, from the corruption which had in recent years sprung up in the Church, and, being now in a place where they had their liberty, they neither could nor would conform to ceremonies in which they did not believe. Of the three ministers who had come over with these second arrivals, one refused to worship in the new way, and settled in Charlestown. With the new arrivals there were also two settlers who attempted to conduct services according to the Book of Common Prayer, and these men were sent back to England.

Thus within a year those who had come to Salem

as members of the Church of England had practically become Separatists, as they had adopted the doctrines of Plymouth in the two foundation principles upon which Separatism was based, namely: that, to be members of the Christian Church, men must be Christians, and that, if they were Christians, they had within them the Spirit of God, which made them capable of worshipping in their own way "without being subjected to any government but of themselves." Hence the only difference between these Puritans and the Plymouth colonists was that the former retained in spirit the State Church principles, and that the latter did not. For the first time, therefore, Puritans who were not Separatists formed a Congregational Church, and, with Congregational churches the basis of civil society in both colonies, a republican form of government for the State was inevitable.

Among the Salem emigrants of 1629 there had come over a preacher, one Ralph Smith, concerning whom Matthew Cradock, the English governor of the Massachusetts Bay Company, had sent word to Endicott that he was suspected of being a Separatist, "and that unless he be conformable to our government you suffer him not to remain within the limits of our grant." As the Salem colonists were then denying the charge that they were Separatists, there was talk of sending Smith back to England. This becoming known to him, he with his family left for Hull, where he lived "in a poore house that would neither keep him or his goods drie."

When a boat from Plymouth put in there, he asked to be taken with his family to the Plymouth colony, and, being an ordained minister and able to administer the sacraments, he was made the pastor of the Plymouth church, Robinson long before this time having written Brewster that "I judge it not lawful for you, being a ruling elder as in Rom. xii. 7, 8 and in Tim. v. 17, opposed to elders that teach and labour in the word and doctrine to which the sacraments are annexed, to administer them nor convenient if it were lawful."

In accordance with the instructions given Allerton, there arrived at Salem in August, in the *May Flower* now in command of Captain Peirce, thirty-five Leyden emigrants, who from here were taken in shallops to Plymouth. Later Allerton himself came over, bringing with him Morton whom the colonists the year before had sent to England under arrest. This action of Allerton the colonists resented as an impertinence, but, because he was Elder Brewster's son-in-law, Morton was allowed to remain as his clerk. In a short time, however, Morton went to his old settlement at Wollaston, where he was a second time arrested for misconduct, and again sent back to England.

Among the goods that Allerton brought over there were many which he had been told not to purchase because they were not suitable for trading purposes. He had also mixed goods purchased on his own account with those purchased for the colony. This he had done on his other trips, and, although it had then

been overlooked, he had on this trip received definite instructions what goods to buy. On his arrival at Salem he sold some of the colony's goods which he had been told not to purchase as his own, and turned the rest over to the colony as its purchase. In addition to this trickery the colonists learned that he had arranged with Sherley and the three other London "Undertakers" to establish a trading post on the Penobscot River, at Castine, and had put in charge there one Edward Ashley, well known in the colony as a dissolute man.

In this venture the Plymouth colonists were now asked to join, and, because the new post would otherwise be a rival to the one already established on the Kennebec, they reluctantly agreed to furnish Ashley with wampum, corn, and trading supplies, and sent as his assistant a young man named Willet, who had recently arrived from Leyden. Before long the colonists learned that Ashley was remitting to the English partners the large profits that were being made, and the next year, when he was sent to England under arrest for selling gunpowder to the Indians, the post was turned over to Willet, who carried on a profitable business.

With the close of the year, 1629, the colonists had not yet fathomed Allerton's cunning, and he was again sent to England at the urgent request of Sherley, who had written that it was necessary for Allerton to be there in order, on account of mistakes made in the boundaries of their Kennebec grant, to have a change made in the wording of the grant.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PURITAN SETTLEMENT AT BOSTON

1630

During this year a new grant was obtained of the Plymouth territory which fixed both the boundaries of that territory and of the land on the Kennebec, as the Pierce grant of 1621 had given no boundaries to the Plymouth territory. This grant of 1629, which was made in fee simple to William Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns, was signed by the Earl of Warwick, then President of the Council for New England, and is still known as the Warwick grant.



JOHN WINTHROP

In May, 1630, the *Lion*, in command of Captain Peirce, arrived at Charlestown with more Leyden emigrants, who from there were taken in shallops to Plymouth. In this vessel Allerton also returned. As the Plymouth colonists had already heard of his mismanagement of their affairs in England, some of the Undertakers now urged his dismissal from the employ of the colony, but, as Sherley had written that he

ought to return on account of the negotiations already begun for a royal charter similar to the one granted the Massachusetts Bay colony, the Undertakers in a moment of weak amiability sent him back in the fall. They also sent Winslow with him to investigate the charges made, and at the same time to act with him as the colonists' agent in purchasing goods.

This year John Billington, who had come over in the *May Flower*, was charged with killing one John Newcomen, at whom he had fired for interfering with his hunting. Of Billington and his family Bradford wrote, "He and some of his had often been punished for miscariag before, being one of ye profanest families amongst them." In 1621 Billington had refused to obey an order of Captain Standish, and because he made threats against him "he was convented before the whole company" to have his feet and neck tied together, and to remain in public view for several hours. Upon his conviction of murder, the colonists who had some doubt about their authority to act in such a case referred the matter to the Bay settlement whose authority under the Crown was above question, and they decided "that Billington ought to die and the land be purged of blood." This sentence was carried out at Plymouth in September. In November the *Handmaid* arrived at Plymouth with sixty emigrants—probably the last to join from the Leyden church. The voyage over had been a rough one: both masts of the vessel had been carried away, and during the

twelve weeks' passage from Southampton ten of the twenty-eight cows that had been shipped died.

In England, for some time now, forced loans and illegal taxes had been imposed upon the people. Buckingham, the king's favorite, had been killed by an assassin, and Laud, now virtually primate, was asserting the divine right of kings, and assuming the whole power of the Church, Puritanism and free speech being his pet aversions and the special objects of his prosecution. Parliament was now dissolved. The king had announced his intention of ruling without one; the Star Chamber and High Commission Courts had become the instruments of the government; and men were harassed for refusing conformity to what they considered superfluous worship.

In August, 1629, twelve men among the most eminent in the Puritan party had held a meeting in Cambridge, England, and there resolved to lead another emigration to New England, if under the charter of the Massachusetts Bay colony the government of the colony could be transferred to the colony itself. Their investigations proving satisfactory, it was arranged that such officers of the company who did not care to take an active part in a new Puritan emigration should resign, and that their places should be filled by other Puritan leaders. What had been a vision of a free state and a free government now seemed a possibility. Without arousing the ever-watchful jealousy of Laud, a resolution was passed by the Massachusetts Bay Company

which meant more than it seemed on its face, it being voted, at the suggestion of Matthew Cradock, the London governor, "that for the purpose of including persons of character, ability and means to settle in the new colony that the company transfer the government of the plantation to those that shall inhabit it, and not control the same in subordination to the company as it now is." The plan which these men outlined was far-reaching in its results, being a measure for self-government and independence which foreshadowed that spirit of impatience against foreign control, and which, at a later day, pervaded not only the settlements of Massachusetts Bay, but the whole American continent. The practical result of the vote was that the entire control of the affairs of the company was placed in the hands of the ten members who were to settle in the colony, John Winthrop "by election of hands being chosen governor for the ensuing year to begin on the present day."

The following year, in February and March of 1630, two vessels with the first of these Puritans sailed for Salem, followed two months later by four other vessels which carried Winthrop and his associates in office, Winthrop on landing assuming office as governor. This was the beginning of a general emigration of English Puritans to New England, and before Christmas seventeen vessels had sailed with more than a thousand passengers. On their arrival these people found that the reports sent home had been too highly colored, Dudley writing that "we found the colony in a

sad and unexpected condition, about eighty of them being dead the winter before, and many of those alive being weak and sick, all the corn and bread among them all hardly sufficient to feed them a fortnight." On account of this state of affairs most of these new arrivals settled in different places: some at Charlestown, where Endicott had already located fifty of his colonists; some across the river near where Blackstone had his plantation; and others at Medford, Watertown, Cambridge, Roxbury, and Dorchester,—eight separate settlements within a year dotting the shore between Salem and Dorchester—Watertown, four miles up the river from Charlestown, being the most inland.

Winthrop soon after his arrival settled at Charlestown, where the year before "a great house" had been built in which "the Governor & several of the patentees dwelt, while the multitude set up cottages, booths and tents about the Town Hill." Soon after locating here, believing that the present site of Boston was a more suitable place for the settlement, "the Governor & the greater part of the church removed thither, whither also the frame of the governor's house in preparation at this town [Charlestown] was carried," its favorable location at the head of the bay soon making this place the principal town of the growing colony.

In all these Bay settlements there was at first much suffering. Between April and December some of the settlers returned home, and nearly two hundred died,

Winthrop in a letter to his wife writing: "We may not look at great things here. It is enough that we shall have Heaven, though we pass through Hell for it. We here enjoy God and Jesus Christ. Is it not enough?" That same year, while the French were making hostile preparations against the colony, a tax upon the different settlements was assessed for the purpose of erecting a fortification at Cambridge. This levy the settlers at Watertown refused to pay upon the long-established principle that Englishmen cannot be rightfully taxed except with their own consent, this protest being another manifestation of that independent spirit which in the next century was to bring about the Revolution. The following year not only were the powers of the government more clearly defined, but there was also enacted a law that the whole body of freemen should elect the governor, deputy governor, and assistants, and that each town should send two representatives to a general court to decide, with the governor and his assistants, all questions of taxation.

With these Bay settlers the Plymouth colonists soon had active commercial relations, and, although both colonies had many things in common, the Bay colonists were never friendly with those at Plymouth, as the Plymouth people were always ready to make new experiments both civil and ecclesiastical, and had broken with the past to a greater extent than even they themselves realized. The conservative Puritans

of the Bay, therefore, thought them too radical, as well as too tolerant both in matters of opinion and conduct, hence there was always friction between the two colonies. This often ripened into meddlesome interference on the part of the Bay settlers, which later showed itself in their attempt to divert the trade of the Plymouth colonists by trespassing on their territory.



THE FIRST CHURCH IN BOSTON

CHAPTER XV

ASTONISHING PROSPERITY OF THE COLONY

1631

For five years trading had been a very profitable business with the Plymouth colonists. The log houses



THE MYLES STANDISH HOUSE

had already given way to commodious one-story structures with gambrel roofs and generous gables, so that the settlement had now assumed the appearance of

a town. Unlike the southern colonies, neither the Plymouth nor the Massachusetts Bay colony had ever been dependent upon England for manufactured articles, as there were good mechanics in every community. The contact of the Plymouth settlers with their Puritan neighbors, who had come over in 1628, 1629, and 1630, had broadened the Pilgrims' ideas of life, and the traffic that was carried on by them with these Puritans, with the Dutch at Manhattan, and with the vessels which frequently came into the harbor, had

developed in the Plymouth colonists shrewd business instincts.

Fields were now being fenced for cattle raising, orchards planted, roads laid out, and watercourses bridged. As the number of cattle increased, the settlers who had land at a distance from the town now built on this land temporary houses in which they lived during the summer, that they might be where their cattle were pastured, but gradually these thrifty farmers, who wished to be at all times near their work, gave up the old English custom of living in villages and going each day to their farms, and before long New England farmhouses with well-stocked farms and cultivated gardens were scattered throughout the colony.

The sickness which had prevailed to such an alarming extent in the Massachusetts Bay colony was now over, and, owing to the brisk trade which had sprung up between the two colonies, shallops were plying daily between Plymouth and the Bay. Everything which the Plymouth colonists had to sell was eagerly purchased, and their produce readily exchanged for the horses and the cattle which the Bay people had brought over. When the Bay colonists saw that their Plymouth neighbors were making large profits by trading with the Indians, they, too, began trading along the coast, but when, in the spring of 1631, one of the Massachusetts Bay pinnaces was driven by a storm into Plymouth Harbor, and it was learned that she had been secretly sent on a trading trip within

the Plymouth territory, Bradford notified the Bay officials that such depredations must cease, or they would be resisted "even to the spending of our lives." The spicy correspondence which followed ended with Winthrop's agreeing that no further trading should be done within the Plymouth domain.

That same spring Allerton was dismissed from the employ of the colonists, who had now learned from Winslow of his many false dealings with them during his trips to England. In 1634 he settled at Machias on the Maine coast, where he had already established a trading post. Here he began a damaging competition with the Penobscot post. Later, when this venture proved a failure, he established a fishing station at Marblehead, where he lived until he was warned from the town, and in 1644 settled in New Haven, where he died insolvent both in estate and reputation.

During this summer the trading post at Castine was pillaged by the crew of a French vessel which had anchored in the harbor while Willet was away on a trading expedition, and all the merchandise, valued at over five hundred pounds, was taken from the four men left in charge, the French sailors, when leaving, making these men carry the goods to their boat, "bidding them tell their master when he came that some of ye Ile of Rey gentlemen had been there."

In the autumn the Plymouth church invited Roger Williams to be assistant preacher. This learned but bigoted Welshman had arrived in Boston in February,

and was unanimously asked by the members of the Boston church to act as their pastor during the absence of their own minister in England. When, however, Williams requested all members of the church to express repentance for ever having communed with the Church of England and in the future to refrain from attending such worship, the church refused to follow his wishes, and Williams moved to Salem. Here he was made assistant pastor of the Salem church, but, when he began to question the validity of the king's charter, the magistrates were obliged to request him to define his views more clearly lest these views imperil the church. This controversy Williams cut short by going to Plymouth, where he became the colleague of Ralph Smith, in contrast to whom his freshness and vigor proved highly acceptable, and, as Plymouth had no royal charter to be assailed, the colonists were sufficiently liberal to tolerate his illiberality.

Williams was an extremist in thought, speech, and action, although the doctrines which he then held were in the main what would now be called conservative. He was opposed to any union of Church and State: he would have done away with all contributions for religious purposes which were not voluntary, and, arguing that the land of the new country could only be rightfully obtained from the Indians, claimed the king was an intruder upon American soil and had no right to give royal charters. Later he returned to

Salem, and because he had evolved "from the Alembic of his soul the sublime principle of liberty of conscience," and had dared to affirm that "the ecclesiastical should be wholly divorced from the civil power and that the church and the majestrary should be confined to its appropriate sphere," his views were considered treason. After a long public trial he was ordered to return to England by the General Court held in 1636 at Boston. This led to his going to Narragansett Bay, where he established the Providence Plantation. With more mature years his religion grew still more liberal, and during his life at Narragansett Bay he developed his great doctrine of freedom of conscience—a doctrine to which he was never afterwards disloyal.

In November, 1631, the *Lion*, having among her passengers Governor Winthrop's wife and family, arrived at Boston. Two weeks afterwards Governor Bradford made his first official visit to the colony in order to pay his respects to the governor's wife, who upon her arrival had been formally received by the entire militia of the Bay. During this visit due honor was paid him as governor of the Plymouth colony, but, as he was a man impatient of ceremony and parade, the aristocratic surroundings of the executive mansion were less congenial to him than the cabin of the *Lion*, where he spent the night with his friend, Captain Peirce.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SPREADING OUT OF THE COLONY

1632

Along the shores of Massachusetts Bay there were now nearly four thousand settlers. Among them were some who had the best of English blood—county squires, people of means and education, clergymen, sturdy farmers, prosperous tradesmen, skilled craftsmen, and hardy seamen—men as thrifty and energetic as the best of their descendants today. By reason of this



COPP'S HILL, BOSTON

great influx of people, corn and cattle were now bringing exorbitant prices. To the Plymouth colony this large emigration had brought unexpected prosperity. New farms were cleared, a large amount of corn was planted, and so many cattle were raised that it was voted that all cultivated land should be fenced. "There was no longer any holding them together," wrote Governor Bradford, "but they must of necessitie goe to their great lots; they could not otherwise keep their katle, and having oxen grown they must have land for plowing and tillage. . . . By which means they were

scattered all over ye bay quickly & ye towne in which they lived compactly till now was left very thine & in a short time allmost desolate."

With the growth of the settlement some of the colonists had located across the bay at "Duxberie" where there was more pasturage for their cattle. And in 1632 so many were living there that they objected to bringing "their wives & children to ye publick worship & church meetings here," and asked to be dismissed from the Plymouth church, that they might establish a new church of their own. They also asked to be incorporated as a separate town, although the Duxbury land had originally been granted to them with the understanding that they should always worship at Plymouth and live there during the winter. When, however, such prominent men as Standish, Alden, and Jonathan Brewster, the son of Elder Brewster, now asked for a separate incorporation and a separate church, a reluctant consent was given, Bradford voicing a wide-spread feeling when he wrote that this separation presaged the ruin of the church "& will provoke ye Lord's displeasure-against them."

The large emigration to the Massachusetts coast, followed by the spreading out of the different settlements, had convinced the Indians that it was only a question of time when the white settlers would have possession of all their territory. In 1631 they made a few desultory raids for pillage and robbery upon some of the outlying settlers, and the same year some Maine In-

dians killed a Dorchester man and his four companions who were trading along their coast in a shallop. On another part of the Maine coast other Indians had killed two settlers, and after robbing their house had set it on fire with the bodies in it. In April, 1632, as a part of a conspiracy against the white settlers of Massachusetts, the Narragansetts began war upon Massasoit, and during an attack upon his village at Sowams had forced him to flee for protection to a Plymouth trading post near there. At the time of Massasoit's flight to this Plymouth fort, Standish with three other colonists happened to be there, and Standish, as soon as he had sent an Indian runner to Plymouth for more gunpowder, made preparations for an attack. No fighting, however, occurred, for after a short siege the Narragansetts withdrew, word having been sent to them that their neighbors, the Pequots, had taken advantage of their absence and invaded their territory. A few weeks later Standish notified Governor Bradford that these two great nations, the Narragansetts and the Pequots, had become suspiciously friendly.

That fall Governor Winthrop paid his first official visit to Plymouth, sailing with his party to Weymouth in the *Lion*, which was now returning to England by way of Virginia. From there they took the Indian trail to Plymouth, where "the governor of Plimouth, Mr. William Bradford, a very discret & grave man, with Mr. Brewster the elder & some others came forth & met them without the town & conducted them to the

governor's house where they were very kindly entertained & feasted every day at several houses."

On the *Lion*, which was largely owned by Sherley, the Plymouth colonists shipped at Weymouth for England eight hundred pounds of beaver and other skins. During the voyage, however, the vessel was wrecked, her cargo lost, and five of her ten passengers, besides seven of her crew of twenty-eight sailors, were drowned. Although the loss of these beaver skins was a heavy one to the colonists, yet so prosperous had the year as a whole been that they appointed a day for thanksgiving. In those early times no special day of the year had ever been set aside for Thanksgiving Day, as a day was always given to the worship of God whenever the colonists felt that there was some direct manifestation of His mercy and favor in times of peril; when some trouble with the Indians was suppressed; when contagious diseases were overcome; when a vessel arrived in port bringing needed provisions and stores, or when there was a bounteous harvest. On the Thanksgiving Day this year the colonists rejoiced in "an especial manner" in spite of the loss of their cargo and the fact that they had just suffered from "a plague of mosquitoes and rattlesnakes."

CHAPTER XVII

TRADING POST ON THE CONNECTICUT RIVER

1633

There being now many different settlements scattered along Cape Cod, it was voted at the annual town meeting held in 1633 to make the town of Plymouth the colonial capital, this being the official beginning of Plymouth as a town, in distinction from the colony of "New Plimouth." At this meeting, Winslow was chosen governor, and, although Bradford had refused a re-election as governor and "by opportunity gat off," he consented to be one of the executive council which was this year increased to seven members. Among the new members of the council was one John Doane who, soon after the election having been made a deacon in the church, was allowed to resign as a member of the council in accordance with the policy of the government that the Church and State should be separate and distinct bodies.



EDWARD WINSLOW

The actions of the Indians had now become so suspicious that the colonists were alarmed lest there might

be a general uprising against the whites, for they knew that, should this occur, the Indians could easily exterminate them, even if all the Massachusetts colonists joined against them. As a precaution, it was, therefore, voted "that whereas our ancient work of fortification . . . is decayed that every able-bodied man either do or provide his share as assigned by the Governor & Council in repairing it." This same year the colony was visited by a locust pestilence which Bradford spoke of as "a quantitie of great sorte of flies like to wasps or bumble bees which come out of holes in ye ground & eat the green things and made such a constante yelling noyes as made ye woods ring of them & ready to deafe ye hearers." The Indians had prophesied that this was a forewarning that some disease would follow, and, as it happened, the next summer an "infectious fever" swept away large numbers of Indians and twenty of the inhabitants of the town.

During this summer of 1633 a small tribe of Connecticut River Indians, who had been driven from their territory by the Pequots, persistently besought the Plymouth colonists to aid them in getting back their country, and, in order to have them as allies, asked them to establish in their country a trading post, where, as these Indians claimed, the colonists would have a large trade with the inland Indians. The Dutch at Manhattan in a previous year had told the colonists of the very fertile soil along the valley of the Connecticut River, which they called the "Fresh River," and had

advised them to change their settlement to this place. It was, therefore, now decided to send a vessel on a trip up the Connecticut River to explore the country, to trade with the Indians, and to see about establishing there a trading post. Upon the return of the vessel with the report that the trade was small, the colonists declined to make any alliance with these Connecticut Indians, fearing it might stir up hostile feelings among the Pequots.

Upon their refusal the tribe then applied to the Massachusetts Bay colony, which also declined to give them any assistance. Later as the officials at the Bay suggested to the Plymouth colonists that the two colonies carry on trade together on the Connecticut River, Bradford and Winslow, at their request, went to Boston to arrange for a joint occupancy of the country. Upon their arrival they found that the Bay colonists had changed their minds, and were making excuses "more like pretexts than real motives," evidently with the idea that later they themselves might get control of the country. The Plymouth colonists having now decided to establish a trading post there, in September "their great new barque," under the command of William Holmes and having on board a trading house built in sections, left Plymouth for the Connecticut River. Where Hartford now is they found that the Dutch had built a fort and had mounted two cannon to command the river, and, when the Dutch threatened to fire upon them, should they attempt to proceed, Holmes replied

that the governor of Plymouth had ordered him to ascend the river, and, whether they fired or not, he should obey orders. "So they passed along, and though the Dutch threatened them hard yet they shoot not. Coming to their place [Windsor] they clapt up their house quickly and landed their provisions and left ye companie appoynted and sent the bark home and afterwards palisadoed their house aboute and fortified themselves better."

The Dutch who, on the ground of having originally discovered the Connecticut River, now claimed exclusive ownership of this territory, the next year sent from Manhattan an armed force of seventy men to take possession of the Plymouth trading post, but, on finding the place well fortified and a garrison prepared to resist them, a conference was held which resulted in the Manhattan forces returning to the fort at Hartford. That fall the Dutch sent four of their men up the river beyond the Windsor fort to secure the furs which would otherwise come to the fort, and to prevent a powerful tribe of Indians living to the north from making a treaty of peace with the Plymouth men. While these men were with this tribe, malignant small-pox broke out in the tribe, and carried off all but fifty of their thousand warriors. The disease also spread among the Indians around Windsor, and as there were not a sufficient number of well persons among them to procure food and fuel for the sick, their wooden trays, bowls, and bows and arrows were used to make fires, many

dying while crawling to the bank of the river for water. From the Connecticut valley the disease spread among the Narragansetts, and the smaller tribes about Boston, over seven hundred Narragansett warriors dying, and some of the smaller tribes being entirely wiped out.

During this epidemic, the Plymouth men at the Connecticut fort having taken proper precautions against small-pox, did not contract the disease, and so were able to care for the sick. In the middle of the winter the four Dutch emissaries who had gone up the river arrived at the Windsor fort so exhausted from their long journey through the snow that only owing to the most careful nursing by these Plymouth men were their lives saved. This kindness the Dutch always remembered, and never afterwards molested the Windsor settlement.



EXPLORING THE CONNECTICUT RIVER VALLEY

CHAPTER XVIII

THE BEGINNING OF ENGLISH INTERFERENCE

1634

In 1634 Thomas Prence was chosen governor. In 1638 and from 1657 to 1673 he was also governor,

Tho: Prence besides being for thirty years a member of the execu-

tive council. Although he was a man of dignity, yet, owing to his strong orthodox zeal, he was often harsh in carrying out his official duties. While governor, he died at Plymouth in 1673, leaving for those days a large fortune.

In May, 1634, when the spring trade with the Indians began, one John Hockings, in charge of a trading post on the Piscataqua River for Lord Say and Sele, Lord Brooke, and other English owners, anchored his bark on the Kennebec, a short distance above the Plymouth trading post, so that he might get the trade which otherwise would come to the post. Thereupon, John Howland, then in charge of the post, taking with him some of the men at the fort and John Alden who had recently arrived with a stock of goods in the colony's bark, went in this bark to where Hockings was anchored, and commanded him to anchor outside the Plymouth territory. This Hockings not only refused to do, but defied Howland to molest him. Howland

accordingly sent four men in a boat over to Hockings' vessel to cut the anchor cable. This was done by one Talbot, and it so angered Hockings that he shot Talbot through the head. Then a friend of Talbot's "that loved him well," and was on the Plymouth bark, picked up his musket and shot Hockings.

The killing of Hockings had fanned into a flame the Puritan dislike to the Plymouth Separatists and three weeks later, when John Alden sailed into Boston Harbor with a cargo of merchandise, he was arrested and imprisoned. That same day, when the vessel returned to Plymouth, the colonists, indignant at this interference of the Bay colonists—the Kennebec River being outside the limits of the Bay colony grant—at once sent Standish to Boston to demand Alden's release. Upon Standish's presentation of the case, Alden, who was out on bail, was given his liberty and his sureties were discharged, Standish being put under bonds to appear before the Massachusetts court in two weeks to make proof of Plymouth's rights on the Kennebec and to corroborate his statements about the shooting. At the hearing Standish so bluntly censured the Bay people for their interference where they had no jurisdiction that considerable hard feeling was the result. Long afterwards the Bay settlers excused their action by saying that, at the time of the Hockings incident, it was known in the Bay colony that the king had just issued to the archbishops of York and Canterbury

and ten others a commission which placed the colonies, both in Church and State affairs, under their control, and that they thought it necessary to take an active interest in the Hockings case, even if their invasion of Plymouth rights was a high-handed act, as they had feared that, unless some action were taken, their English enemies, led by Lord Say and Sele and Lord Brooke, would prevail upon the king to send over a royal governor for New England, in which case their church and civil liberties would be lost. Their fears of having a royal governor, however, were groundless, as enough political influence was brought to bear upon the commission to prevent any steps being taken against the colony.

For the Plymouth people the year had been unusually prosperous, partly owing to the large amount of furs taken at their Kennebec post and partly to the large amount of trading done with the Dutch at Manhattan. In the summer, Winslow, returning from a trading trip up the Connecticut River, had, instead of sailing around the Cape, taken the vessel to the trading post near Sowams. From there he had sent the vessel back on another trip, and returned to Plymouth, accompanied by Massasoit who had some of his men take the goods across the Cape. Upon Winslow's arrival he found the town in mourning, as Massasoit had sent word ahead that he had been killed, the messenger giving in detail the time and place where the murder had been committed. For this false re-

port Massasoit was severely censured, although he said that what he had done was in accordance with an Indian custom to insure for Winslow a warmer welcome.

In the fall Winslow was sent to England with 3,738 pounds of beaver skins and 234 of other skins, valued at about four thousand pounds sterling. Besides other commissions, he was especially charged to get an accounting from Sherley, who each year had evaded making one. He was also appointed agent of the Bay colony to appear before the King's Commissioners for Plantations, in order "to obtain a commission to withstand the intrusions of the French and the Dutch at the east and at the west." One of the members of this commission was Archbishop Laud, who already was planning to send over Sir Ferdinando Gorges as governor of all the New England colonists, hoping in this way to get the Church of England firmly established and "to force upon them the yoke of our ceremonials and intermixtures so as to deter others from going." Gorges, who already had been nominated governor-general, was to take with him a thousand soldiers, a vessel being then building to take them over. When Winslow, who in England had the reputation of being one of the most prominent men in New England, appeared before the commission, he was accused by Laud not only of having taught in the Plymouth church on Sundays, but of having joined people in marriage. With more candor than caution, Winslow

defended his action, declaring that he knew of no spiritual ground for not doing as he had. For these radical ideas Laud had him committed to Fleet Prison, where he was kept seventeen weeks before receiving his liberty to return to Plymouth.



FLEET PRISON

CHAPTER XIX

THE PENOBSCOT TRADING POST LOST

1635

The foreign commerce of Massachusetts had now grown to such an extent that during one week in 1635 ten foreign vessels were lying at anchor in Boston Harbor. In the spring of this year Winslow, as the agent of the Plymouth colony, was again sent to England, and, although still unable to get Sherley to make an accounting, turned over to him 3,678 pounds of beaver skins and 466 skins of otters, minks, and black foxes, their value like the shipment the year before being about four thousand pounds.



THE ARRIVAL OF BAY SETTLERS IN
CONNECTICUT

In August of this year the colonist's fort at Castine was taken from them "in ye name of ye King of France" and all the merchandise confiscated, Willet and his three men being given a boat with which to get back to Plymouth. Upon their arrival the colonists at once asked the Massachusetts Bay people to join

with them in driving the French from the country, since such close proximity was a menace to both colonies, but the Bay colonists, although they approved the plan, were unwilling to go to any expense in the matter. The vessel of one Girling being then in Boston Harbor, the Plymouth people employed him to get for them possession of the fort, "In consideration whereof he was to have 700 pounds of beaver, to be delivered to him ther, when he had done ye thing, but if he did not accomplish it he was to lose his labour and have nothing. . . . With him they also sent their owne bark and about 20 men with Captaine Standish to aid him if neede weer and to order things if the house was regained and then to pay him ye beaver which they kept aboard their owne barke." Girling, when he came within sight of the fort, began a furious cannonading, but, by the time he was near enough for effective firing, the powder gave out and Standish was obliged to return on his bark to Pem-aquid, the nearest plantation, for a fresh supply. While here Standish learned that, even if Girling was not successful in getting possession of the fort, he intended seizing the beaver skins, and so, after sending to Girling the powder, Standish sailed for Plymouth with the beaver skins which were on the bark. Upon receiving the powder, Girling at once sailed for England without attempting any assault.

Upon Standish's return the governor and council immediately sent a letter to the Bay colonists again ask-

ing for assistance in forcing the French from the country and urging the necessity of getting possession of the fort at once, as the French would now probably fortify the place more strongly than ever. To this letter the Bay people replied by asking the Plymouth colonists to send some duly authorized persons to Boston to consider the matter with them. In answer to their request two of the colonists went to Boston, but the conference came to nothing, "for when they came to ye issue they would be at no charge." Soon afterwards the Bay colonists began trading with the French then in possession of the fort, furnishing them with provisions, powder and shot "so as it is no marvell," wrote Bradford, "though they still grow & encroach more & more upon ye English and fill ye Indians with gunes & munishtion to ye great deanger of ye English." What Bradford predicted proved true. The Castine fort was fortified more strongly than ever, and became as profitable to the French as it had been to the Plymouth people, being held by the French until 1694.

Now that the small-pox epidemic had swept away the Indians along the Connecticut River valley, some of the Massachusetts Bay people began planning to settle there. In 1634 Elder Goodwin, of Cambridge, petitioned the General Court that his church be allowed to move in a body to Connecticut, and, although the Court refused, public clamor for a settlement there still continued, it being specially urged on the ground that it was necessary to possess the country, lest it be occupied

by the Dutch or "other English," for it was then known that the Plymouth colonists were seriously considering locating there themselves in a body.

Notwithstanding the action of the General Court, a large detachment from the Dorchester church left for the Connecticut River in the spring of 1635, and, on arriving at Windsor, Jonathan Brewster, who was in charge of the fort, offered them what hospitality he could, stored their goods, and loaned them canoes with which to explore the country. After finishing their explorations, they told Brewster that they had decided to settle at Windsor. Against this, Brewster and the Plymouth men vigorously protested, since there were hundreds of miles of other equally good land at their disposal. They also reminded these Dorchester people that they had purchased the land of the Indians in 1633, that they had defended it against the Dutch, and that their own colony was thinking of settling there. To this the pious Dorchester men replied that it was "the Lord's wast," that it was only being used as a trading post, and that, as they had come to this place "by His Providence," they should seize the land and put it "to ye right end for which land was created." Every means short of physical force was used to prevent this outrage, but, as Brewster had received strict orders from the Plymouth government not to forcibly drive them away—another Hockings tragedy being feared—he was unable to prevent a settlement being made. That same year, at Saybrook at the mouth of the Connecticut, the

Bay colony built another fort to prevent the Dutch settling on the river.

During the controversy over this Windsor settlement two shallops had started from Dorchester with goods for the Connecticut settlers. These were wrecked on Brown Island Shoal while trying to make Plymouth Harbor during a storm, and all on board were drowned. Notwithstanding the hard feeling which had grown out of the usurpation of their Connecticut territory, Bradford had the goods that washed ashore dried and sent to the owners at Dorchester, and later, when another cargo was lost off Sandwich, he again had the goods sent to Dorchester. That fall Winslow returned from England, bringing with him John Norton, who was made assistant minister of their church. Norton, however, remained with them only a year, as he received a call to be the pastor of the church at Ipswich, where there were "many rich and able men and sundry of his acquaintances, so he wente to them."



THE FORT AT PEMAQUID

CHAPTER XX

THE ENACTMENT OF A CODE OF LAWS

1636

The town of Plymouth had now a grist-mill, a saw-mill, a blacksmith's shop, and a cooperage shop.



THE MAJOR BRADFORD HOUSE

These, with its market-place, wharf, fishing and trading boats, had made it one of the important towns on the coast. There were also in the town a village inn and

a court-house; sheep raising and the hand-weaving of wool were now among the industries of the town; oxen and horses were in common use, but, as few bridges had yet been built, the streams had to be forded in going from place to place.

For fifteen years the officials of the Plymouth colony had been annually elected without having their duties defined, being subject only to such limitations of official powers as the town meetings from time to time determined. The community was now too large to have the

details of the government decided in mass meetings, and its affairs, both domestic and foreign, were now too important to be carried on without some formally defined form of government with limitations of official power. Inasmuch as the laws and enactments at the different town meetings of former years had never been systematically kept, and many of them had never been recorded, it was voted at a town meeting held in 1636 that a commission, consisting of the governor and his council, should prepare a code of laws for the government of the colony. In the preamble to this code of laws was the first declaration of rights ever made on the American continent, it being stated that "the citizens of the New England Colony as free subjects of England, are entitled to enact as follows: that no imposition, law or ordinance be made or imposed upon or by ourselves or others at present or to come, but such as shall be made or imposed by consent according to the free liberties of the state and kingdom of England and not otherwise." It was a broad statement for those days, and resulted from that spirit of independence which prosperity had inspired, in later days this being the issue which brought about the Revolutionary War and the independence of the colonies.

It is not known what, up to this time, had been the form of government of the colony or what had been the duties and powers of the governor and the council, but, as the laws passed in 1636 were in general merely recorded revisions of the laws in force in England, it is

probable that the colony up to this time had been governed by English laws. By the new statutes it was enacted that all new laws and all changes of the old laws should only be made by the freemen regularly called at town meetings; that annually on the first Tuesday of March "a Governor and seven associates be chosen to rule and governe the said plantacons within the said limits for one yeare and no more"; that all claims under forty shillings and all petty offences were to be decided by the council; and that all larger claims and all crimes should be tried by juries. From time to time, additions were made to these laws until 1658, when a second revision was made, a third revision being made in 1671 and a fourth in 1685.

In June, 1636, Thomas Hooker, the pastor of the church in Cambridge, with a hundred of his church emigrated to the Connecticut and settled near the Dutch trading post at Hartford, for "hereing of ye fame of the Conighticute river they had a hankering mind after it." Soon afterwards another body of Puritans left Watertown, and settled at Wethersfield. About the same time the others of the Dorchester church moved to Windsor, all these emigrations being not of individuals, but of churches. Inasmuch as these people claimed allegiance to the Bay colony, the officials of that colony at once assumed authority over the new towns, although they were outside the limits of its charter. Against this usurpation of authority by the Massachusetts Bay colony some of the Cambridge people, who had settled

within the Plymouth territory, and many of the new arrivals from Dorchester, when they learned how the Plymouth colonists had been treated, protested and "resolved to quit ye place if they [the Bay colony] could not agree with those of Plimouth."

Although the Plymouth government urged the officials at Boston to right the wrong done in reference to these Connecticut settlements, no attempt at any restitution was ever made, but after many futile efforts a compromise was brought about "for peace' sake, though they conceived they suffered much in this thing." By this compromise the Plymouth colony retained their trading post and one-sixteenth of their tract, and received fifteen-sixteenths of the amount which they had paid for it to the Indians. "Thus was the controversy ended, but the unkindness not so soon forgotten."

The traffic which the "Undertakers" were carrying on was growing so much larger each year that Bradford "had marvelled" at the amount. Sherley's indebtedness to them for shipments of furs to him now amounted, as the colonists believed, to more than two thousand pounds, but, as he was still unwilling to settle the account, he was peremptorily dismissed as the agent of the colony. Later, in 1642, a settlement was made with him by paying him one hundred and fifty pounds sterling; the same year a settlement was made with Andrews, another of the English partners, by paying him five hundred and forty-four pounds; and in 1646 with the third

partner, Beauchamp, who received houses and lands in Plymouth valued at two hundred and ten pounds and ten shillings; the fourth partner, Hatherley, having before this time joined the colony. With these payments the Plymouth Republic after a quarter of a century for the first time enjoyed the luxury of being out of debt, and, although during these years its debts had been inflated, its funds embezzled, and its confidence betrayed, the colonists preferred to submit to fraud and to pay unjust claims rather than feel that any one was not receiving what was his just due.

During this year, 1636, the town records show that John Billington's widow was fined five pounds and ordered to sit in the stocks and be publicly whipped, this being the first record of stocks being used in the colony. The same year Ralph Smith resigned his pastorate, and settled in Manchester, Massachusetts, his resignation being at the request of the members of the church, who had come to the conclusion that he had little or no ability. The same year John Raynor, "an able and godly man," was made their pastor, and remained with them until 1654, when he went to Dover, New Hampshire, where he died in 1669.



RELICS OF BY-GONE DAYS

CHAPTER XXI

THE PEQUOT WAR

1637

As the Connecticut settlements were outposts in the heart of the Indian country, trouble was inevitable. The Pequot Indians, a powerful and warlike tribe, ruled the eastern half of the State, and five miles into Rhode Island. From there to Narragansett Bay their bitter enemies, the Narragansetts, dominated. In 1633 some Pequot Indians savagely mutilated and murdered one Captain Stone, and seven other Englishmen



PEQUOT INDIAN

who had gone from the Bay colony on a trading trip up the Connecticut River, and although the chief of the Pequots, Sassacus, had promised to deliver the murderers to the government officials at Boston, he had made one excuse after another for not fulfilling his promise. Later, in 1636, John Oldham, now prominent in the Bay colony, while off Block Island in Narragansett Bay on a trading trip in his pinnace, was murdered by some Narragansett Indians. To avenge these murders, three vessels, under the command

of Endicott, were sent to the Narragansetts' country with a commission "to put to death the men of Block Island, but to spare the women and children, and from thence to go to the Pequots to demand the murderers of Captain Stone and the other Englishmen, besides one thousand fathoms of wampum for damages and some of their children as hostages, which, if they should refuse, they were to obtain by force." Acting under this commission, Endicott's men devastated Block Island, burning the wigwams and sinking the canoes of the Indians who had fled to the mainland upon their approach. Sailing across to the mainland, they then attacked the Narragansetts, and, after killing several of their people, seized their corn and ravaged their country. From there they sailed to the Thames River, where they demanded from the Pequots the surrender of the murderers of Captain Stone and his men, but, being unable to obtain any retribution, they marched over the country, seized the ripened corn, burning and spoiling what they could not carry away, and, flushed with success, returned to Boston.

The expedition of Endicott had shown to the Indians what the colonization of their country meant, for among them were many who were not behind the whites in sagacity, and not slow to see what the outcome was sure to be. They realized that these few white men who had been left on their Atlantic shores by vessels which had sailed away were the beginning of a new type of civilization which in time would reach the Pacific

Ocean. The Pequots, having now an incentive to arouse all Indians to resist the whites, used every means in their power to induce the Narragansetts to join them in annihilating these settlers, and, had this nation co-operated, it is probable the New England colonists would have been exterminated. The Boston officials, appreciating the danger of such an alliance, had at once sent a messenger to entreat Roger Williams to prevent, if possible, this coalition, and Williams, "putting his life in his hands," at once went in his canoe to intercede with Canonchet, the successor of Canonicus the former chief of the Narragansetts. Here he found the Pequot sachems skilfully urging that an Indian league be formed against the English, as their only hope of self-preservation. For three days and nights he argued with Canonchet and his chief men, and because of their confidence in him the Narragansetts finally ignored the overtures of the Pequots, their hereditary enemies, and agreed to enter into a league with the English, with whom later a treaty of peace was signed in Boston.

Thwarted in their attempt to enlist the Narragansetts in their plans, the Pequots determined to make war upon the Connecticut colony, which now had a population of eight hundred people, grouped in the three towns of Windsor, Wethersfield, and Hartford. Although these colonists had taken no part in the Endicott expedition, they were now kept in a continual state of alarm by the forays of the Pequots. Houses were

burned, and men going to their work outside the settlements were killed and mutilated. At Wethersfield one of the settlers was roasted alive; then the town was attacked, ten of the inhabitants being massacred, and two English girls carried off. Goaded to desperation, the Connecticut settlers now sought the assistance of Boston and Plymouth. While waiting, they formed a military organization, and, by assigning to each town its proportion of the miniature army, for the first time acted as a separate community and assumed the authority of Statehood. With the organization of this militia, which was put under the command of John Mason—an old Netherland soldier, who on his arrival had settled in Dorchester and from there had moved to Windsor—a declaration of war was sent to the Pequots.

With a little army of ninety men from the four Connecticut settlements, twenty-five men under Captain Underhill from the fort at Saybrook, eighty Mohegan warriors, and the promised aid of the Narragansetts, Mason determined to attack the stronghold of the Pequots on the summit of a hill near the Mystic River. Here these Indians had a village surrounded by a palisade of saplings twelve feet high and firmly set in the ground. This stockade had at the opposite ends two openings, each barely large enough for a man to pass through, and within this enclosure of two or three acres were the crowded wigwams of several hundred Pequot Indians.

Going down the Connecticut River with his ninety

men and the eighty Mohegan warriors on three vessels, Mason stopped at Saybrook, where he was joined by Underhill and his men. From here they sailed to Narragansett Bay, where four hundred Narragansetts were waiting for them. On their arrival an Indian runner brought them word that Captain Patrick with forty men from the Massachusetts Bay colony was on his way to join them, but Mason, unwilling to wait, at once marched overland with his forces to where Stoughton now is. Deceiving the Pequots into believing that their stronghold on the Thames River was to be attacked, Mason made a long detour at night, and at daybreak on the morning of May twenty-sixth reached the Mystic village where the Indians were asleep in fancied security. Their Indian allies, the Mohegans and the Narragansetts, now lost courage and deserted them, but, not daunted, Mason advanced upon one entrance and Underhill upon the other, an Indian sentinel, aroused by the barking of a dog, only giving the alarm when they were close to the fort. The Indians, taken completely by surprise, became at once panic-stricken, and while trying to escape, first through one entrance and then the other, were ruthlessly shot down. Fearing that the Indians, who outnumbered these assailants nearly four to one, would in desperation scale the fort for a hand-to-hand encounter, Mason shouted, "We must burn them," and firebrands were at once thrown over the palisade among the wigwams, where, the flames spreading, the carnage was complete—the

Indians perishing in their burning dwellings. "It was a fearful sight to see them frying in ye fyer and ye streams of blood quenching ye same and horrible was ye stinck and sente thereof. The Narragansett Indians all this while stood round about but aloofe from all danger and left ye whole execution to ye English except it were ye stoping of any yt broke away, insulting over their enemies in this their ruine and miserie when they saw them dancing in ye flames, calling them by word in their own language signifying O brave Pequents!"

Of seven hundred Pequots, five escaped, seven were taken prisoners, and the others were either killed or perished in the flames, and thus the war, which had begun with what would have been a fatal blunder, if the Pequots had not been taken by surprise, ended with a victory for the English. After the battle Mason marched with his troops across country to Pequot Harbor, where he was joined by Patrick and his men, who during Mason's march inland had sailed there in the three vessels. From here the Massachusetts troops marched with Mason and his men overland to Saybrook, while Underhill with his troops went back in the vessels, and from here Mason's and Patrick's troops went in the vessels to Hartford.

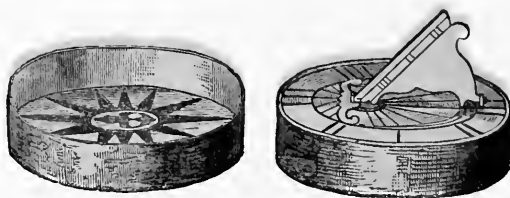
As soon as the Massachusetts Bay colony learned of Mason's success, one hundred men under the command of Captain Stoughton of Dorchester were sent to the Connecticut with instructions to prosecute the

war to the bitter end. Reaching Pequot Harbor early in June, they were joined by forty Connecticut men whom the General Court at Hartford had ordered to continue the war, and these combined forces pursued the Pequots wherever they could be found, Sassacus and some of his followers being finally driven into a swamp near Fairfield, where many were killed, Sassacus fleeing to the Mohawks, a neighboring tribe, who, fearing the English, cut off his head and sent his scalp to Boston. After this success the victorious colonists marched through the Pequot country, burning wigwams and granaries, the few Indians who were left being so scattered that the nation was never again able to establish itself. Of the men whom the English had taken prisoners, thirty were blindfolded and from the deck of a vessel were walked overboard to a watery grave in the Thames. The rest were sold into slavery in the West Indies or distributed among the Narragansetts, the women and girls being assigned to the different colonial towns as house servants.

No event in the early history of New England had a greater influence on its destiny than this war. Never before had the Indians heard of so terrible a vengeance, and never again, until King Philip's war, thirty-eight years afterwards, did they dare lift their hands against the whites. It was the first struggle of our ancestors with the aborigines of the country, who naturally believed that they themselves held the title to the soil. Yet these Christian white men, with all the humanity

which they showed towards their own people and with all the piety which they professed towards God, acted with a cruelty as inhuman as that of the savages whom they hoped to Christianize. Their association with the Indians had so hardened them to Indian methods of warfare that with easy consciences they only limited war by butchery. Captives they willingly sold into slavery for profit or gave them to their most bitter enemies for a life worse than slavery. This want of humanity was not forgotten by the Indians when later, at the beginning of King Philip's war, the different New England tribes were urged to unite in driving the English from the country.

In this Pequot war the Plymouth colonists had taken no part, but the Plymouth records show that the colonists had agreed with the Bay colony "to send 50 men at their owne charg, and with as much speed as possible they could gott them armed and provided a barke to carrie them provisions & tend upon them for all occasions but when they were ready to march they had word to stay for ye enemy was as good as vanished, and their would be no neede."



WILLIAMS' COMPASS AND DIAL

CHAPTER XXII

THE COLONY AT ITS LOWEST EBB

1638-1643

Public attention was now becoming more than ever attracted to New England as a desirable place for emigration, it having been pointed out with much force that the reason why the settlements in the south had been unsuccessful was the want of good harbors. In 1638 a second large New England emigration began, this being quickened by the troubles which preceded the breaking out of civil war in the mother country. In the spring of this year fourteen vessels sailed down the Thames with emigrants for the new country, so many leaving England that the archbishop of York was asked by some of his parishioners to put a stop to the emigration, or the parishes would be impoverished. Twenty-five thousand people had already sailed to New England in ten years, and for two years this new emigration continued, ceasing only when the swing of the political pendulum made the Puritans



CHARLES CHAUNCY

begin to hope that their contest for political freedom was to be successful.

On account of the large exodus to Massachusetts in 1638, the price of cattle and grain so increased that the Plymouth colonists gave all their attention to pasturing cattle and growing corn. Trade with the Indians was neglected, and, when the Undertakers decided to give up their trading post on the Kennebec, some of the colonists, who "well fore-sawe that these high prices of corne and cattle would not long continue, agreed with ye company for it and gave them about ye 6 parte of their gaines for it." Prosperity had now made the colonists desire to own more fertile farms elsewhere, and the dissatisfaction became so great that in June, 1638, there was a project to have the entire colony move in a body to a more desirable locality. The abandonment of this plan Bradford attributed to the direct intervention of God, for, at a time when some of the leading men of the colony were assembled in one of their houses discussing the question, an earthquake shook the town with such violence that those "without ye dores . . . could not stand without catching houlte of ye posts & pails yt stood next them . . . as if ye Lord would hereby shew ye signes of his displeasure in their shaking a pieces and removalls one from an other."

This same year, following the example of the Massachusetts Bay government, a general court was established, composed of the governor, the council, and rep-

representatives from the different towns, the governor and council being known as The Bench and the members from the towns first as The Committee, and afterwards as Deputies.

In 1639, Bradford and Winslow for Plymouth, and Endicott and Stoughton for the Bay, were delegated to settle the disputed boundary line between the two colonies, as the Massachusetts Bay charter gave, as the southerly boundary of that grant, an east and west line three miles south of the Charles River and the Bay colonists contended that the term "river" included all its tributaries. This had led to a long dispute between the two colonies, as the claim of the Bay colony would have taken in what all conceded was part of the Plymouth territory. This commission finally agreed "that all ye marshes at Conahassett yt lye of ye one side of ye river next to Hingham shall belong to ye jurisdiction of Massachusetts Plantation and all ye marshes yt lye on ye other side of ye river next to Sityate shall be long to ye jurisdiction of New Plimoth excepting 60 acres of marsh at ye mouth of ye river on Sityate side next to the sea."

The principal towns of the Plymouth colony now were Plymouth, Duxbury, Scituate, Taunton, Sandwich, Yarmouth, Barnstable, and Marshfield, and, as the colony had now become a "Comone-welth," it was voted by the General Court that Bradford should transfer to the colony the title to the land given him and his heirs in the grant of 1630 by the Council for New

England. This transfer, which was made December eighth, 1640, included all the land that he held in trust, except a small tract at Yarmouth, another at Eastham, and a tract "from Sowansett river to Patucket river, with Cawsumsett Neck, which is ye chiefe habitation of ye Indians & reserved for them to dwell upon, extending into ye land 8 myles through ye whole breadth thereof."

So many of the Plymouth colonists had by this time settled in other places that the town of Plymouth was fast losing its old vitality and seemed to be going to decay. Standish and Alden had already settled in Duxbury, Winslow had planned to settle in Marshfield, and Brewster lived a large part of his time with his children in Duxbury where he had a farm, so that of the old leaders Bradford alone remained. Trouble, too, had arisen in the church on the question of baptism. Charles Chauncy, who had come to them in 1638 as assistant pastor to John Raynor, was insisting that baptism should only be by immersion, for the reason that baptism by sprinkling was a modern invention. This question many of the clergy of other towns publicly debated with him, and, as he remained obdurate, letters were sent to the ministers of the Bay and to some in the Connecticut colony, asking them for written answers to Chauncy's written arguments. These replies were also publicly discussed, and, although the church, yielding as far as it could, was willing to permit baptism by immersion to those who desired it,

Chauncy, notwithstanding that the American climate and personal health were against it, insisted upon baptism by immersion for all. He was, therefore, allowed to resign. In 1641 he moved to Scituate, and from there went to Cambridge, where in 1654 he became the second president of Harvard College, which had been founded in 1636.

The scarcity of English money had now made corn the medium of exchange in the colony, and it was not only levied for taxes, but was also used in paying the yearly town expenses. For example, the records of 1642 read that "William Nelson be hyred to keep the coves this yeare at the same wages he had last year which is 50 bushells of Indian corne"; and that "those in charge of the weir who draw and deliver the herring . . . be payd either in money or corn at Harvest as such rate as it doth then passe at from man to man."

Young cattle and goats were now kept in enclosed pastures, and from April until the middle of November all other cattle except milch cows and oxen had to be kept in the town pasture outside the town. Wolves being now a serious annoyance, it was frequently voted at town meetings that bounties be paid for killing them, and in 1642 the General Court ordered twenty-seven wolf traps to be built, and, after being set in different parts of the colony, to be properly watched.

The encroachments of the Dutch and French had

now made war seem inevitable. In 1642, because the people of Plymouth believed that their seaport town was liable to be attacked by one of these nations and because there was also a growing fear of an Indian uprising, it was voted that the watch-house on Fort Hill be repaired, and that each man in the town should furnish two eight-foot pieces of timber to finish the fortification which was being built.

With the advent of the Long Parliament in England and the consequent downfall of Archbishop Laud, the Puritan exodus to New England ceased. This had vitally affected the trade of the Plymouth colony. The inflated prices had dropped to their former values, and those colonists who had made large investments in cattle and in farms for the pasturing of cattle and the cultivation of corn, now found themselves in straightened circumstances. More than all, the religious enthusiasm which had always been the main stay of the Plymouth colonists had, under the strain of commercial prosperity, given way. There were no longer any new arrivals, and between this lack of new arrivals and the loss of trade those living in the town had become discouraged. The phenomenal growth of the Bay colony and the loss to Plymouth of nearly all of its progressive men, who had settled in other places, so disheartened those who were left that in 1642 Bradford wrote, "Wickedness did grow and break forth, especially drunkenness and unclainness, not only incontinencie between persons unmarried for which

many both men and women have been punished sharply enough but married persons also. . . . But one reason may be that ye Divill may carrie a greater spite against ye churches of Christ and ye Gospel here."

In the process of nation-making the colony had reached its lowest ebb, and in the few recorded events of this year the philosopher of history has another example of how in every community a few men of strong personalities unconsciously affect not only the feelings and actions of weaker minds, but also the drift and tendencies of human thought and human actions.



THE LAYING ON OF HANDS

CHAPTER XXIII

THE NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERACY

1643

North of New England the French, who had settled at Quebec in 1608, had already begun to push the confines of New France southward.

William Brewster

In 1632 Le Tour,

the French governor, had said to Allerton of the Plymouth colony: "The king of France claims the coast from Cape Sable to Cape Cod. I wish the English to understand that if they trade to the eastward of Pemaquid, I shall seize them. My sword is all the commission I shall show and when I want help I will produce my authority." Ever since then on account of boundary disputes and race hatred there had been more or less trouble between the English and the French. On the south there were similar boundary disputes with the rapidly growing settlement of the Dutch at Manhattan, at this time known as New Amsterdam.

In 1637 the settlers of Connecticut had unsuccessfully tried to interest the Massachusetts Bay colonists in the formation of a federation of the New England colonies "over against the Dutch." To recover their lost fur trade, the Dutch had twice attempted to drive the English settlers from the Connecticut valley, and,

although both attempts had been unsuccessful, the Amsterdam colonists were beginning to be a people difficult to resist. In 1638, about a month after the Pequot war, some wealthy London merchants arrived in Boston with their families, and, now that the Pequots were exterminated, settled at New Haven, which, owing to its good harbor, was well located for commerce. During the next year some of these people moved to Milford, near by, and another party, arriving from England, started a colony at Guilford. In 1640 Stamford was added to the group and in 1643 these four colonies united into the Republic of New Haven.

The friendship existing between the different New England colonies was taking a closer and more definite form, now that the urgent need of a union between them was felt. The royal decree of 1634, when the archbishops of York and Canterbury, with ten others, had been commissioned to regulate and govern the country, was not yet forgotten. The Long Parliament of 1640 was still in session, and all believed that, if the king won, he would turn his attention to New England which had become a place of refuge for his political opponents. Consequently, the same spirit which in 1634 had made the Massachusetts colonists appropriate six hundred pounds for the purpose of defending themselves against the Indians, was now ready to assert itself in all the colonies by an alliance for the purpose of defending themselves not only against the

Indians, but also against the Dutch, the French, and even their own king, if necessary.

With this idea in mind the four little states of Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Haven, and Connecticut, having now an aggregate population of twenty-four thousand people, formed in 1643 a confederation which they called the United Colonies of New England, "it being a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity for offence and defence, mutual advice and succor upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the Gospel and for their own mutual safety and welfare." This federation, although simple in form, was virtually the assumption of sovereignty over the people, and the colonists by joining together took a daring step and made a long stride towards independence. In forming this alliance, they had not taken the trouble to get permission of the home government, but had done as they thought the occasion required, and were ready to defend their action, should it ever become necessary. In England the confederacy was naturally rewarded by the government with distrust, and Winslow, who was sent to London to defend it, pithily said, "If we in America should forbear to unite for offence and defence against a common enemy till we have leave from England, our throats might all be cut before the messenger would be half-seas through."

On May twenty-ninth of the same year deputies

from the four colonies met in Boston, and with the adoption of articles of confederation the first federal union on the American continent was formed. By these articles each colony was to choose two church members as its commissioners, and these eight commissioners were "to determine all affairs of war and peace, number of men for war, division of spoils, and whatever was gotten by conquest." No colony was to make war by itself, and in case of war the expenses and number of troops were to be proportioned among the four colonies according to their population. In all other matters each colony was to be as independent as before and to have entire control of its local affairs. In addition to these articles the deputies recommended that each General Court should see that every man keep by him a good gun and sword, one pound of powder, four pounds of shot, and suitable slow match and flints, which should be examined at least four times a year, that each colony should keep on hand a stock of powder, shot, and match; and that there should be in each plantation at least six training days each year.

Of the twenty-four thousand people in the confederation, fifteen thousand were Massachusetts Bay people, and, as there were only about three thousand persons in each of the other colonies, Massachusetts Bay had the heaviest burden to bear, both in furnishing soldiers and in the payment of war expenses. Although she did not have any more authority than the others in

directing the affairs of the colonists, she often showed a domineering spirit, which, being resented by the others, often led to friction. Although the deputies had little executive power, the league proved to be of great value, as it not only awed the French at the north and the Dutch at the south, but postponed an uprising of the Indians, who ever after the Pequot war were conspiring against the English, the knowledge that the Narragansetts were in this conspiracy making the Plymouth settlers more than anything else decide to join the confederacy.

With the formation of the confederacy the Plymouth colony, while it gained in security, lost its independence. It no longer was to shape history as a distinct community, and its annals from this time were absorbed in the broader history of New England. Up to this time its history had been unique, and its traditions had been distinct from those of any of the other colonies. From the first it had carved out an independent course, which it had pursued with unflinching loyalty, and had stood for the widest conception then known of both civil and religious liberty. But now, with its wonderful individual career ended, its history became a part of the annals of secondary events, and whatever it was to accomplish was to be of little importance in shaping the destiny of the country compared to the events taking place in other sections which were more rapidly advancing in prosperity.

A month before the articles of federation were signed

the most venerated man among the founders of the Plymouth Plantation died. On April tenth, "to the great sadness and mourning of them all, William Brewster passed to where beyond these voices there is peace." Of a cheerful spirit, of an humble and honest mind, of a peaceable disposition, understanding his own abilities and often overvaluing those of others, he had gained the love of all. Although a man of education and refinement, he had willingly worked in the fields when occasion required it, and in carrying out the work which he felt he had been called upon to do there was no sacrifice too great for him to make. Likewise, he had borne his part with those who had been persecuted for adopting the principles of Congregationalism, and, when the church was without a minister, had taught "both powerfully and profitably, so that many were brought to God by his ministry," his singular gift in prayer always touching the hearts and consciences of those who heard him. Of him Bradford wrote: "I should say something of his life if to say a little were not worse than to be silent. He was tender hearted and compassionate of such as were in miserie, but especially of such as had been of good estate and ranke and were fallen into want & poverty either for goodness & religions sake or by ye injury & oppression of others." "Like a tired child, he fell asleep when his long day's work was over and without pang or gasping departed this life into a better."

CHAPTER XXIV

DEATH OF WINSLOW, STANDISH, AND BRADFORD KING PHILIP'S WAR

1644-1676

In 1643, owing to rumors that the Indians were planning an uprising against all the white settlers of



OLIVER CROMWELL

Massachusetts, the men of Plymouth were divided into watches, it being voted "that there be six men and a corporall for one watch which is to continue XXIII hours from sunn sett to sunn sett."

It was also voted that a council of war for the town be chosen, and that the householders provide sufficient arms for themselves and their

servants. The next year it was voted that all the lead in the town should be melted into bullets; that in case of an alarm a certain number of men should go immediately to the Jones River to defend the town at that point; that others should go to the Eel River, and that others should assemble in the town to await orders; that in case the alarm should continue in either Plymouth, Duxbury, or Marshfield, twenty men should go from Plymouth, twenty from Duxbury, and ten from

Marshfield "to relieve the place where the alarum is so continued"; and that, if there were still need of assistance, a beacon fire should be lighted on Gallows Hill in Plymouth, on Captains Hill in Duxbury, and on the hill in Marshfield.

In 1649, town lands were given to those townsmen who had no land, "to use as long as they please or their heirs after them but not to make sale thereof if they depart the towne but surrender them upp unto the towne agayne at their departure." The same year a committee of seven was appointed "to use their best descretion and endeavors that the poor may bee comfortable provided for by contriving and setting them in such ways and courses as may most probably conduce thereunto and also to see yt the provisions of the poor bee not unessessarily Imbezeled, missspent and made away with in the summer season before the winter and times of hard things come and for such poore as are aged and decrippped as they cannot work." As the wolves had again become troublesome, it was voted in 1650 "to pay fifteen shillings to every one who should bring in the head or skin of a wolf, and that any Indian who would kill an old wolf should receive two coats and for a young wolf an axe or hatchet."

In 1655, Edward Winslow, the ablest of the four great men of the Plymouth colony, died. Three years before his death he had gone to England as the agent of the Bay colony to uphold her rights before the Commissioners of Plantations, and particularly to oppose

any action by the government on the question of appeal from the colonial courts to the courts of England. Here he had presented his case with such ability that Cromwell, then Dictator, appointed him chairman of a joint English and Dutch commission to award damages for the destruction of English vessels in neutral Denmark during the war between England and Holland. In this work he showed such marked efficiency that in 1655 he was placed by Cromwell at the head of a commission sent to take the Spanish West Indies, but, owing to the jealousy of the other two commissioners—General Venable commanding the soldiers and Admiral Penn having charge of the fleet—the expedition was a failure. From there the fleet sailed to the Island of Jamaica, which was easily conquered, but, before reaching Jamaica, Winslow died of fever and was buried at sea, a salute of forty-two guns being fired in honor of his high rank of “grand commissioner.” Thus died at the age of sixty-one the youngest of the great leaders of the Pilgrims, a man whose ability and character were of no common order. Of his four years’ absence from the Plymouth colony, Bradford wrote, “it had been much to the weakening of this government.”

During the following year, 1656, Myles Standish died at his farm in Duxbury at the age of seventy-three. He had left the Old World for adventures in the New, and began his career in the new country by helping the sick and dying. Under all circumstances he was loyal and steadfast to the interests of the colony and

submissive to the voice of the people. For thirty-five years he had been the military commander of the colony, no expedition being too dangerous and no work too humble for him to undertake, and at different times he was explorer, trader, arbitrator, town treasurer and magistrate. With his knowledge of the Indian language, in which he excelled all the others, he had been especially valuable both in times of peace and war. In the vanguard of civilization in America no man proved more useful than he, and it is doubtful if the Plymouth settlement would have been successful without his energy and courage. In the making of New England, the part that fell to him carried with it a romance distinctive to itself. Not being a member of the church of the Pilgrims, his mission was not to establish Congregationalism, but to crystallize the settlement into a commonwealth.

In the spring of the following year, 1657, Bradford, the last of the four great leaders, died. With his death there was profound mourning throughout the United Colonies, for he was regarded "as a common blessing and a father to them all." Of him Cotton Mather wrote: "He was a person for study as well as action, and attained unto a most notable skill in languages. The Dutch tongue was become almost as vernacular to him as the English; the French tongue he could also manage; the Latin and Greek he had mastered, but the Hebrew most of all he studied because, as he said, he would see with his own eyes the ancient oracles of God

in their native beauty." He believed himself an instrument of God in establishing a more liberal religion in the New World, and that in all times of danger a special Providence directed and protected both him and his co-workers. During his life he had shown a liberality in advance of the superstitions of the times, and from the day when the handful of convalescents had fired their matchlocks over the grave of Carver he had been their leader, willingly doing his share of manual labor and always ready to assume his part of responsibility in directing the policy of the colony. From the time of Carver's death in 1621, he had been governor except the three years when Winslow held the office and the two years when Prence was chosen. From the time when he first began the administration of the affairs of the colony its history is his, and in an eminent degree he was the moving spirit of the enterprise. His conduct towards the Indians was marked with such wisdom, energy, and kindness that he soon gained a powerful influence over them, and the colonists—not merely his first fellow Pilgrims, but all that came afterwards—so respected him that there was no necessity of his assuming his authority and power even with the most heedless. In addition to his being governor of the colony for thirty-one years he was for five years the Plymouth commissioner of the Colonial Confederacy and for two years its president. Modest about his own ability, he was firm in whatever he undertook, yet, because he was always courteous to others, he won

the love of the weak and the respect of those who opposed him. Surely, it must have been more than chance, that in that shipload of yeomen who were cast like waifs upon the shores of Cape Cod, there were such men as Brewster, Winslow, Standish, and Bradford.

In 1660 Charles II. became king. From the formation of the confederacy in 1643 up to this time the New England colonists had not been molested by the English government. In 1664, however, a commission was sent to Boston, especially charged to enforce the execution of the Navigation Act passed in 1660 by which "no merchandise shall be imported into the plantation but in English vessels, navigated by Englishmen under penalty of forfeiture." They were also to enforce religious worship according to the laws of England, and to inquire into the administration of justice, the treatment of the Indians, and the system of education carried on. This commission, which remained a year, did nothing, however, except to leave behind in the minds of the people a feeling of irritation and the fear of a future attack upon their liberties.

In 1660 Massasoit, the lifelong friend of the Pilgrims, died, leaving two sons, Wamsutta and Metacom, who



CHARLES II.

had been christened at Plymouth as Alexander and Philip. In 1662 Alexander, now chief of the Wampanoags, was summoned before the General Court at Plymouth on a charge of plotting with the Narragansetts against the English. Of this charge he proved his innocence, but before leaving Plymouth suddenly died. Philip, believing that his brother had been poisoned, now became a bitter enemy of the whites, and secretly began conspiring against them. He had read in their faces the doom of his race if his people were not wise enough to drive the settlers from their country. The white men's clearings and fences on the land lavishly given to them by his father or sold to them by other Indians for a few pots and kettles, blankets, and hatchets, made him realize that they had made an absolute surrender of their territory instead of retaining a joint occupancy. He also realized that planting did not go with hunting, and that domestic cattle and wild game could not roam about together.

For ten years Philip quietly matured his plans. Frequently during this time there were made at Plymouth complaints of acts of lawlessness on the part of his people, and Philip himself was often charged with plotting with the Narragansetts and the Nipmucks against the colonists, and more than once was summoned to appear before the Plymouth officials. By 1670 these accusations had become so frequent that the men of Plymouth thought it time to strike, but were held in check by the Federal Commissioners.

In the spring of 1675, however, a Massachusetts Bay Indian having divulged to the governor of Plymouth that Philip was again plotting against the colony, it was voted "to presse eleven able sufficient men to goe forth as soldiers against the Indians our enimies," also "that there shalbe forth with a fortification built upon the fort Hill att Plymouth, to be one hundred foot square the pallasadoes to be 10 foot and one-halfe large to be sett 2 foot & an halfe in the Ground . . . every man to doe three foot of the said fence of fortification . . . and there shalbe a watch house created within said ffence or fortification and that the three pieces of ordinance shalbe planted within the said ffence or fortification." Not long after this the Indian who betrayed Philip was murdered, and in June three Wampanoag Indians who were convicted of the murder were put to death at Plymouth.

A few days afterwards, on June twenty-first, a messenger on horseback went clattering over Boston Neck with a letter from the Plymouth colony stating that at daybreak two houses on the outskirts of Swanzey, a village near Philip's territory, had been attacked. This letter was as follows:—

Hon^d Sr.

This morning at break of the day I had a post from Swansy informeing that phillip the Sachem and his men are now in action and did yesterday about noon assault two of the English housen that were next them, forsed out our people and possessed them selves of

the housen, and were marching up with their body toward Swansy, with their drums beating, as if they intended a present assaulte, wee feare that place may bee soerly distressed before they can have reliefe; yet the post tells mee these men were very cherfull; I have ordered seventy men to march this day from Tanton and Bridgewater for their first relief, and hope to have a hundred and Fifty more on a Martch to morrow: Wee are informed that the Narrigansets have 400 men in arms, intended for phillips asistance, the Nepmucks also are exsp[ec]ted too by him this day; our great request to your honr is that your Comand and Force also may bee improved (if need bee) to secuer us from troble from those Indians that apertayne to your Colony or are under your protection as wee Suppose the Narrigansets and Nepmeuks are; if wee Can have faire play with our owne wee hope with the help of god wee shall give a good accompt of it in a few dayes: there hath bine no ocaation given by us, no threat, nor unkindeness, but their owne pride and insolency alone hath moved them to give us this troble;

Sr I Cannot inlarge; I intreat you to Excuse the rudeness of my lines and to grant a word of answer by the post. I subscribe, Sr

your loving Neighbr and humble

Srvt JOSIAH WINSLOW

MARSHFIELD, June 21. 75.

With this assault the people of the neighborhood had fled to the block house in the village pursued by the Indians who followed them to the bridge, where forty settlers had posted themselves and prevented an attack upon the village. That same day messengers from

Plymouth were sent to demand the culprits from Philip. A few days afterwards several other houses not far from Swanzey were plundered, and the men, women, and children killed and barbarously dismembered. Troops were now sent from Boston and Plymouth against the Wampanoags, and, when they advanced up the strip of land on Mount Hope Neck to Philip's settlement, they found the wigwams deserted, and Philip and his people with their canoes, arms, and provisions gone. A few days later the news came that Philip had swooped down upon Dartmouth, Middleborough, and Taunton, burned the houses, flayed some of the settlers alive, impaled some on pointed stakes, and roasted others over slow fires.

This onslaught was the beginning of a two years' deadly struggle between the white settlers of Massachusetts and the Indians. In July, Philip, driven from the eastern part of the state, went to the Nipmuck country on the Connecticut, and in August and September, the scattered villages of Brookfield, Deerfield, Northfield, and Hadley, which were then frontier towns, were attacked, Deerfield and Northfield being practically destroyed. Of the soldiers who went to the relief of Northfield thirty-six were killed, and their heads placed on long poles planted by the roadside. At Deerfield a large quantity of unthrashed wheat had been left, and in September the farmers of that section went with their wagons to get the ripened grain, escorted by ninety of probably the best drilled troops in the

Massachusetts Bay colony, known as the "Flower of Essex." In the evening with their loaded wagons they started back, and at seven o'clock the next morning, September twelfth, while they were fording a shallow stream, they were suddenly fired upon by seven hundred Nipmucks hidden along the banks, only eight of all who had started escaping to tell the tale of that "black and fatal day . . . the sadest that ever befel New England."

The situation had now become desperate. In the beginning of the war the Narragansetts had played fast and loose with the English, giving aid to the Indians whenever success came to Philip or his allies, and claiming to be friends of the whites when success came to them. As it was evident that, unless crushed, this tribe would soon openly espouse Philip's cause, the Federal Commission in the fall of 1675 enlisted five hundred and twenty-seven men from the Massachusetts Bay colony, one hundred and fifty-eight from the Plymouth colony, and three hundred from the Connecticut colony, for the purpose of attacking their palisaded fortress, which was located in the outskirts of what is now South Kingston. This fort, covering six acres of rising ground in the middle of a swamp, had an almost impregnable position. Its walls built of saplings were twelve feet in thickness, and the single entrance to the fort could only be reached by walking along the trunk of a felled tree, this rude bridge being guarded by a block house in which Indians were always stationed.



BATTLE WITH THE NARRAGANSETTS

On the night of December eighteenth the little colonial army of a thousand men slept in a field eighteen miles away "without other blanket than a moist fleece of snow," the Narragansetts, equipped with muskets in the use of which they were skilful, waiting for them in their fort. The next morning, Sunday, as the colonial army approached the stronghold, a volley of musketry from the block house was fired at them, while within the fort were not less than two thousand warriors ready for the conflict. Then followed a desperate struggle, which soon became a hand-to-hand conflict, the soldiers, maddened by the sight of their dead companions, making assault after assault upon the entrance, only to be driven back by the mere weight of numbers. While this fighting was going on, the Connecticut troops discovered a path at the rear of the fort over the partly frozen swamp, and by climbing on each other's shoulders were able to scale the rampart. Once inside, on a sudden the wigwams were ablaze, and the flames at once encircled the whole space in a sea of fire. The Indians, now terrified and made desperate by the whistling shots and the shouts of command, fought with recklessness, the slaughter that followed on both sides continuing the rest of that Sunday afternoon. At dusk those of the Narragansetts who were still alive fell back to a neighboring swamp, and the colonial troops, doubting their ability to maintain themselves so remote from support, after burning the tubs of corn found in the fort and

taking with them the muskets which the Nipmucks had captured at Deerfield, retreated to Wickford, eleven miles away. This was the most desperate struggle of its kind ever fought on American soil. In the encounter not less than a thousand Indians were slain, and of the English nearly one-quarter of the whole number were either killed or wounded.

Although the power of the Narragansetts was now broken, Canonchet, their chief, defiantly said, "We will fight to the last man rather than become the servants of the English." Nearly all the tribes had now joined in the uprising, and on February tenth, 1676, the Nipmucks under the command of Philip attacked Lancaster, another of the frontier towns. On the twenty-first, Medfield, another frontier town, was attacked and twenty of its inhabitants were murdered. On the twenty-fourth, Weymouth was also attacked, and a few days later Middleborough and Bridgewater, many houses in each place being burned. On March second Groton, another frontier town, was almost wholly destroyed, and the same day an attack was made on Plymouth, where seventeen houses were burned. On March twenty-eighth Scituate was attacked and nineteen houses were burned. From here Captain Pierce, of Scituate, with fifty soldiers who had pursued the Indians, was drawn by Canonchet into an ambush near Pawtucket and his whole command killed, this being the greatest calamity which befell the Plymouth colony during the war. Ten days later Canonchet

was captured by a Connecticut company, and upon being turned over to the Mohegans, who were allies of the Connecticut colonies, was tomahawked.

The tide now turned. In May, three hundred Nipmucks were slaughtered at Turners Falls, crushing that tribe. In June, four hundred Narragansetts were slain in four sharp fights in Connecticut. These skirmishes marked the beginning of the end. Soon reports of the destitution of the Indians began to come to the colonists, and, when in July the colonists made offers of peace, nearly all the Indians surrendered. Deserted on every side, King Philip with a few faithful followers now returned to Mount Hope Neck. Here he was driven into a swamp by some Plymouth troops under the command of Captain Benjamin Church, where on August twelfth he was shot by a friendly Indian, and "fell upon his face in the mud and water with his gun under him . . . upon which the whole army gave loud huzzas." Upon his death Captain Church gave orders that "For as much as he had caused many an Englishman's body to be unburied and to rot above ground, not one of his bones shall be buried," and in pursuance of this command Philip's body was quartered, and his head taken to Plymouth, where it was exposed on the end of a pole, while the meeting-house bell summoned the townspeople to a special service of thanksgiving.

During this war the destiny of one hundred and five thousand New England people had hung in the balance.

Besides many women and children, nearly a thousand Massachusetts settlers had been killed, and there was hardly a family that had not lost some member. Of the ninety towns in the two Massachusetts colonies one third had been attacked at one time or another, and of these, thirteen had been destroyed and the others greatly damaged. Never during the war, however, did the colonists ask assistance of England, for, fearful of English complications, they preferred to fight their own battles rather than to give the king an excuse for maintaining royal troops in New England. Consequently, it was many years before the heavy war debt was paid, the debt of Plymouth exceeding the value of all the personal property of the colonists.

From this time the Indians no longer figured in the history of New England except when, in later years, they became allies of the French in their raids upon the frontiers. With the close of the war most of the Indians who were taken prisoners, including the women and children, were sold into West Indian slavery, the records of Plymouth showing that more than five hundred Indians were sold from there alone. Even Philip's wife and son—an Indian princess and her child—were taken from the wild freedom of a New England forest, and sold as slaves to gasp under the lash beneath the blazing sun of the tropics.

The Indians had fought a relentless war, making a life-and-death struggle for the lives of their squaws and pappooses and for the mounds that covered the bones

of their ancestors. Now with the lapse of time one is able to analyze their motives without being warped by the atrocities and cruelties they were forced to inflict. For a quarter of a century Philip was stigmatized as a monster accursed of God and man, yet in the light of history one cannot but look upon this war as a just one from the Indian viewpoint, and upon Philip as the patriot of his race.



THANKSGIVING SERVICES WHEN THE COLONISTS LEARNED OF THE
DEATH OF KING PHILIP

CHAPTER XXV

PLYMOUTH'S REFUSAL TO BE THE SLAVE OF ANY NATION

1676-1776



JAMES II.

England's war with the Dutch being now ended, the government had time to give attention to its American colonies, and the "Lords of Trade," as they were familiarly called, were soon sitting in council upon the actions of the obstinate Massachusetts colonists, reports having come to them that the navigation laws were not observed; that ships from other European countries were trading at Boston without paying duties to England

on their cargoes; that money was coined at a colonial mint; and that Church of England men were denied the right to vote. To investigate these reports, Edward Randolph was sent over. He was also given instructions to ascertain the sentiment of the people of the Kennebec and Piscataqua towns towards the Massachusetts Bay government, as well as of such other towns as were not in sympathy with the existing form of government in Boston.

In 1676, upon Randolph's arrival in Boston, then a town of five thousand inhabitants, his manners and actions so stirred up the people that they were uncivil to him. In 1679, when the king appointed him collector of customs with instructions to enforce the navigation laws, Governor Leverett, to whom he read his commission, kept his peaked hat on when the signature of the king's chief secretary of state was read, and asked with careless contempt, "Who is this Henry Coventry?" Of this incident Randolph did not fail to write the king, and, while he was waiting to hear from his report to the government, he spent his time intriguing with those in Boston who were dissatisfied with the dominant party and in forming what later became the Tory party.

In 1680 and 1683, the Plymouth colony unsuccessfully petitioned the home government for a royal charter, as its only legal existence was the Pierce patent of 1621 and the Warwick patent of 1630. In 1684 came the long-expected blow from the English government—the beginning of New England's darkest days—when the Massachusetts Bay charter was annulled by the Court of Chancery, the General Court abolished, and Joseph Dudley, the son of Winthrop's associate, who had become the leader of the Tory party, was made president of all the New England colonies except Plymouth, with full authority to govern them.

In 1685, upon the death of Charles II., his son James II. became king, and in 1686 this arrogant monarch,



SIR EDMUND ANDROS

wishing to abolish all local self-governments in the American colonies, appointed Sir Edmund Andros governor of New England. Andros made his headquarters at Boston, and during his despotic rule the Episcopal Church, after much bitter opposition, was established in the town. Arbitrary taxes were imposed, encroachments were made upon common lands, and nothing was allowed to be printed by the press without permission. With the Plymouth colony Andros had no trouble, for the colony had no royal charter, although the town voted "not to deed Clark's Island to the Crown as he had demanded." This arbitrary rule of Andros lasted until 1689, when the Stuart kings were overthrown, and William, Prince of Orange, was made king.

When the news of the landing of the new king in England reached Boston, a signal fire was lighted on Beacon Hill, and a meeting called to be held in the



WILLIAM III.

Town House. To this meeting Andros was summoned, and, upon his trying to escape from Boston in woman's clothes, he was seized and made a prisoner. Soon after this the old charter was restored. Later, in 1692, the king sent over a new charter, by which the Massachusetts Bay colony and the Plymouth and Maine colonies were united under a single government. By this charter the governor was to be appointed by the king, and Sir William Phips, a New England man, who on account of his successful expedition against the French in Nova Scotia had risen into prominence and been knighted, received the commission of governor. In all



SIR WILLIAM PHIPS

other respects the charter gave to the colonies the same government as the old one, the rights of the people and the full enjoyment of religious liberty being guaranteed.

In 1694, the House of Representatives of the United Colonies made a formal declaration of their civil rights, in which they claimed



QUEEN ANNE



GEORGE I.

sole authority to tax the people and the right to make all laws for the government of the Province. In 1702, King William was killed by being thrown from his horse, and Anne, the daughter of James II., the last of the Stuarts, became queen. Under her weak rule the colonies were not troubled by the home government, her

intimate friend, Sarah Churchill, the Duchess of Marlborough, having such an influence over her that it was popularly said, "Queen Anne reigns, but Queen Sarah governs." In 1704, the French with their Indian allies attacked Deerfield and Lancaster. That same year Colonel Benjamin Church of the Plymouth colony, who was now settled at Mount Hope Neck, made a successful expedition against the Maine Indians and the French settlers in Acadia.

Upon the death of Queen Anne in 1714, the Whigs in Parliament proclaimed George of Hanover king almost before the country knew what was



GEORGE II.

happening, and during his reign there were days of peace in England and the colonies. Upon his death in 1727, his son, George II., succeeded him. While he was king came the war of the English against the French in Canada, Massachusetts in 1756 furnishing seven thousand troops under the command of John Winslow, of Plymouth.

In 1760, upon the death of George II., his grandson, George III., became king, and in 1763, during his reign, peace was declared between France and England. This ended the war in Canada, which had so impeded the growth of New England that its wealth and population were practically the same as when the war began.



GEORGE III.

In March, 1765, the English government passed its famous Stamp Act, which at once aroused such bitter opposition in all the colonies that a circular letter was sent by the Massachusetts Bay colony to the other colonies, asking them to unite in remonstrating against this unjust taxation. In September, 1765, the House of Representatives passed its famous Bill of Rights, and the town of Plymouth, to show its approval of this action, in October sent to its representative to the General Court the following letter:

“We have evinc’d our Loyalty to our King, our affection to the British Government and our Mother Country on all occasions. . . . Our Treasure is exhausted in the service of our Mother Country, our Trade and all the numerous Branches of Business Dependent on it Reduced & almost Ruined By severe acts of Parliament & now we are threatened with being Loaded with Internal Taxes without our own consent or the voice of a single Representative in Parliament & with Being Deprived of that darlin Privilege of an Englishman, Trial By his Peers. . . . This place, Sir, was at First the Asylum of Liberty & we hope will ever be Preserved sacred to it, though it was then no more than a Forlorn Wilderness inhabited only by savage men & Beast, to this place, our Fathers (whose memories be Rever’d) Possessed of the Principles of Liberty in their Purity, Disdaining slavery Fled, to enjoy those Priviledges which they had an undoubted Right to but were Deprived of By the Hands of Violence & Oppression in their native country. We sir, their Posterity, the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of this Town Legally assembled For that Purpose, possessed of the same sentiments & Retaining the same ardour for Liberty, think it our indispensible duty on this occasion to express to you these our Sentiments of the Stamp Act and its Fatal consequences For Relief. We Likewise, to avoid Disgracing the memories of our Ancestors as well as the Reproaches of our Consciences & curses of Posterity, Recommend it to you to obtain if possible in the Honorable House of Representatives of the Province the Full and Explicit assertion of our rights & to have the same entred on their Publick Records that all Generations yet to come may be convinced that

we have not only a just sense of our rights and Libertys but that we never (with Submission to Devine Providence) will be the slaves of any power on Earth."

In Boston the enforcement of the Stamp Act had resulted in riots and violence against the officers of the Crown, and on January sixteenth, 1766, the people of Plymouth met to "Express their esteem of & Gratitude To the Town of Boston for their spirited conduct." On September nineteenth, 1768, at a town meeting held at Plymouth "a letter from the Selectmen of Boston to the Selectmen of this Town for which reason this meeting was Called, was read which was in the words following viz."

"BOSTON, September ye 14th, 1768.

"*Gentlemen*,—You are already too well acquainted with the mellencholly A very Alarming Circumstances to which this Province as well as America in General is now Reduced. Taxes, Equally Detrimental to the Commercial Interest of the Parent Country & her Colonies, are Imposed upon the people without their Consent . . . The concern & perplexity into which these things have thrown the people have been Greatly Aggravated by a late Declaration of his Exalancy Governor Bernard that one or more regiments may soon be Expected in this province. The Design of which Troops is in Every ones Apprehension nothing short of Enforcing by military power the Execution of Acts of Parliament in the forming of which the Colonies have not and cannot have any Constitutional Influence, this is one of the Greatest Distresses to which a free people can be reduced. . . . Deprived

of the Counsell of a General assembly in this Dark and Difficult Season, the Royal people of this province will, we are persuaded, immediately perceave the propriety & utility of a committee or convention & the Sound and Wholesome Advice that may be Expected from a number of Gentlemen Chosen by themselves & in whom they may repose the Greatest Confidence . . . to meet so Early as ye 22nd of this Instant."

Pursuant to this request, the town of Plymouth voted "to choose two men to attend & act for them at Faneuil Hall in Boston . . . with such as may be sent to joyn them from the Several Towns in this Province in order that Such matters may be Consulted & advised as his majestys Service & the Peace & Safety of his Subjects in this Province may Require."

The crisis between Great Britain and her American colonies was now fast approaching. In 1770, Plymouth voted "to Endeavor to Encourage & Support the Generous Efforts of the Merchants in Boston and other seaport towns in the Sacrafice they have made to the publick Good by the agreement for the non Importation of Goods. . . . That the thanks of this town be Given to the town of Boston for the firm & Spirited Opposition they have made to the Attempts of Tyranny & Oppression to enslave us at the Expense of their Interest & their Blood. . . . That we will at all times Support & Encourage the non-importation agreement of the Merchants & hold in the highest Detestation those who Continue Audaciously to Im-

port Contrary to said agreement. . . . That a Committee of Inspection be choose to Enquire from time to time if any person among us Shall directly or Indirectly Trade or be Concerned with the very few who now stand recorded by a vote of the towne of Boston of ye 23rd Instant as perfering their own to the publick Advantage of their Country by taking Advantage of the Generous Self denial of their fellow Citizens & Continueing to Import Goods."

On November twenty-fourth, 1772, at a town meeting duly called "a petition of one hundred Inhabitants of the town of Plimouth was red & is in the words following"

"TO THE SELECTMEN OF THE TOWN OF PLIMOUTH

"*Gentlemen*,—We the subscribers, free holders & other Inhabitants of the town of Plimouth, deeply Impressed with a sense of the unhappy situation this country is reduced to by the violation of our rights and the repeated attacks made upon our constitutions, and feeling that concern and Indignation which should animate every Honest Breast on recollecting the once Happy circumstances of this country, & now in constant viewing the present state of it where we are deprived of the rights of nature and a Constitution purchased with the blood of our Ancestors and the fair inheritance transmitted us by them, is become the prey of Vultures & Harpies who rest on the spoil of it, alarmed as we have been from time to time with taxation without our consent, with extention of Admiralty Jurisdictions, with the Quartering of soldiers here & the Lawless Insolence & murders they have

Committed and been supported in, with the taking from us the defence of our Capitol against a foreign enemy and Garrisoning it with regular troops in whom we can place no confidence, with the contemptuous & Unconstitutional treatment of our General Court from time to time, and with many other Grievances from the memorable era of the Stamp Act down to the Independence of a Governor, we have nevertheless pleased ourselves with some Hopes that Justice or Common sence might one day take place in the Administration and releive us from our Difficulties before the System of Slavery was fully compleated. But the last step taken by the administration by providing salaries for the Judges of the Superior Court has left us without any expectation of that kind, by fixing the last seal to the Despotism they have so Long endeavored to Establish here. We therefore have reason to Consider our situation as very Dangerous if not Desperate and such as requires the united attention and wisdom of the whole to prevent being irretrievably fixed on us & our posterity. We therefore Desire to Call a town meeting as soon as Conveniently may be that the Inhabitants of this town may unitedly take this matter into consideration and pursue such steps as may be proper on such an occasion and at such a Day as this is."

Pursuant to this petition a meeting was called at which it was voted to choose two committees: "1st a committee to report to the town what it is best for the town to do & to report a Draft of such votes as they may think it best for them to come into. 2nd, a Standing Committee of Communication & corre-

spondence to be chosen freely from time to time to communicate & correspond with the town of Boston and any other town on the subject of our present Difficulties & of the measures proper to be taken."

On December fourteenth the committee chosen reported "The Impatience and Indignation natural to the oppressed, the Honor & resentment natural to freemen who know the value of their rights & see them not only repeatedly attacked but torn from them with every mark of Insult as well as Injustice, the pain natural to the virtuous & vigilant who see the coldness & Indifference of some & the Prostitution and servility of others, who Inherit with them the prize and reward of the Sufferings and blood of their Fathers, have more than once called the united attention of the Inhabitants of the town of Plymouth to a Consideration of the unhappy circumstances of their country but never upon an occasion more alarming than the present, when, to every other species of Injustice & Insult, to every other stride of Despotism & Tyranny is added, as we hear & have abundant reason to believe, a provision made for the support of the Judges of the Superior Court of this Province in a way different from usuall & constitutional method by the free Grants of the people, which has a Tendency to Poison the Fountain of Justice upon the purity of which & the streams that Issue from them depend the happiness & peace of a Society & allso to compleat the system of Despotism by Exposing

the lives & properties of this Great people to the mercy & decisions of men who are not only Independent of them for their appointment, continuance in office & support but dependent in effect for the first, & absolutely & intirely for the last two, upon those who distinguish & separate their Interest from ours & who for several years have been so far from Discovering any one Instance of regard for our welfare & happiness that they are the source from whence we derive all our difficulties & Greivances & who in this very Instance discover a partiality by no means to be justified, by placing the Judges Here upon a footing Different from that of the Judges in England and which, as the doctrine of Instruction is now managed & executed, may open a door for appointment to the Supream seat of Justice here, strangers whose extravagance and debeaucherys may drive them from their native land and whose rapacity & Injustice in that station may be in proportion to their Poverty & Wick- edness upon an occasion Therefore so dangerous & Important in its nature & Consequences. The In- habitants of this town in Town meeting assembled, Influenced by a sense of the obligations they are under to God & their own consciences as well as to Posterity to do every thing in our power to Preserve entire our rights, and at least to bear our Testimony against all Invasions of them do now to avoid the reproaches of our Consciences and the Execrations of Posterity resolve

"1. That the People in this Province are Intitled to the rights that the people of Great Brittain can claim by Nature & their Constitutions.

"2. That the rights they are intitled to have been violently & most injuriously Infracted by the Parliament of Great Brittain and the Administration of Government there. . . .

"3. That one providing of the support of the Judges of the Superior Court of this Province in any other manner than by free Grants of the people is an Infraction of the highest nature & tends of itself to destroy every idea of a free Government and to erect as perfect a system of Despotism in this Province as ever took place in any country.

"4. That our Representatives be & hereby are Instructed to unite in such measures as shall place the Judges of the Supream Court of Justice of this Province upon a Constitutional Basis & make, when that be done, a suitable Provision for their Support.

"5. That in the opinion of this town the United thanks and Grateful acknowledgments of every Individual who is a friend of the Constitution of this country & the Interest of posterity is due to the Vigilance & spirit of the Inhabitants of the town of Boston upon this & many other occasions.

"6. That this report be put upon the Records of this Town there to stand as a Publick monument of the sence the Inhabitants have of their Rights and of their Determination at all times as occasion & opportunity may offer, assert, Vindicate & support them."

On December sixteenth, 1773, the tea was thrown into the docks in Boston Harbor, and in March, 1774, there was received by the selectmen of Plymouth from its "committee of Correspondence" a request for a town meeting, "stating that India tea is frequently brought into & sold in this town & having done Every thing in their power to put a Stop to the practice which they conceive to be repugnant to the sense & Inclination of their constituents & the principles on which they apprehend their security rests without the success they could wish for, Do think it their duty to request you to call a meeting." Later at a town meeting called March twenty-fourth it was voted "1st that whoever continues to Sell or shall for the future expose for Sale in this towne any India tea is & ought to be considered as an Enemy to the rights of America & the Constitution of his Country; 2nd that we will have no intercourse or dealings with such as shall Sell India teas till there be a change in the measures of Administration that may procure a change in the circumstances of this country which will justify Such a Conduct in them & that we will Consider as Im-micall to this Country all those who shall have any dealings with them."

On September fifth, 1774, a general congress of all the English colonies was held in Philadelphia, and on September thirtieth Plymouth notified its representatives in Boston that, if "the General Assembly should be dissolved or otherwise hindered from acting, we ex-

pect a Provincial congress will be Immediately formed and that you will act as members of it, concocting such measures with our brethren of other towns as will have the most effectual tendency to shake of the yolk of oppression & prevent the operation of those acts of which we so justly complain."

On April nineteenth, 1775, the War for Independence of the American colonies began with the battles at Lexington and Concord, and on May twenty-first, 1776, the Plymouth representatives to the General Court were instructed that "As we have this day chose you to represent us in the Great & General Court of this Colony & as matters of the Greatest Importance must necessarily come before you in the Course of this year we your Constituents (haveing an undoubted Right) do Instruct and in the most Solemn manner charge you that you use all your influence, that you exert Every power in you Vested in Defence of the Rights, the Libertys and Propertys of the American Colonies in General & of this Colony in Particular in opposition to the impious effort of the proud, the Imperious & worse than Savage Court of Great Brittian which seems to be lost to Every Sense of Justice & determined to deluge all America in Blood & Carnage unless we by a tame unmanly Submission will put ourselves in their power to be Controlled by them as they please in all Cases Whatsoever. . . . We Your Constituents resenting such insolent & Notoriously unjust demands of the Brittish Parliament & of their Tyrannie King do In-

struct you 1st That you without Hesitation be ready to declare for Independence on Great Brittain in whom no Confidence can be placed, Provided the Honorable the Continental Congress shall think that measure necessary, and we for our parts so assure you that we will stand by the Determination of the Continentall Congress in this Important & as we think very Necessary measure at the Risque of our lives & fortunes. 2dly We wish you to use your Influence that Such a form of Government may be adopted as may appear most Satisfactory & which may bid fairest to ensure a permanent harmony to the Colony's & the weal, Happiness & Prosperity of America to the latest Posterity."

Such was the spirit of independence which these people of Plymouth inherited from their forefathers. As events proved, it was most fortunate that in the earlier days the Massachusetts Bay colony had been thwarted by Plymouth and the other New England colonies in her designs to extend her powers, and that the scheme put forward by the Stuarts for a consolidation of all the colonies had come too late to be accomplished. By this time a second generation of Englishmen had grown up in America. Ninety-eight per cent. of the population of New England was still English or unmixed descendants of English people, and nowhere else in America was there such a homogeneous population or men of such high quality. It was because of this type of men that Cornwallis surren-

dered at Yorktown in 1781, and that the treaty of peace acknowledging the independence of the colonies was signed in 1783.



ANDROS A PRISONER IN BOSTON

CHAPTER XXVI

COLONIAL LIFE FROM 1620 TO 1776

The Plymouth territory, which was once the home of the Patuxets, the Wampanoags, and other Indian



SITE OF THE OLD FORT

tribes, had now only a few trails to remind one of the red man, some of which had become the pathways of the early settlers to Boston Harbor and to Buzzards Bay. As

the outlying land of

the colony was allotted from time to time, some of these old trails were given up for more convenient horse paths, and, as the settlements became villages, many of these old trails became roadways. Finally, the villages became incorporated towns, and the land, being now a part of the towns to be disposed of as circumstances demanded, gradually passed into the hands of those through whom the present owners now hold their titles.

When the May Flower emigrants settled in this wilderness, their pioneer life, as in every new country, was, at the best, but a series of makeshifts. We know that the Indians, with whom they always had more or

less trouble, were children of impulse; that these Indians were not able to stand protracted military operations or a contest in open country; that their strength as fighters lay in their ability to find their way through the forest as silently and as easily as in the open, and in making sudden and unexpected sallies, to be followed, if unsuccessful, with a rush to the covert of the woods. This method of warfare the settlers had to learn and adopt before they could successfully cope with them; and the association of the settlers with them during those early years had much to do in shaping the history of the colony.

We know that the different tribes were fiercely hostile to each other, and that the colonists always found some opportunity to better themselves because of these Indian feuds. The Indians, indeed, little appreciated, during the struggling fortunes of the Plymouth colonists, that the occupancy of their country by any settlers would have been indefinitely deferred if they had been willing for a time to put aside their local quarrels and to make a united stand against the first intruders upon their territory. These same antagonisms, however, which kept them at war with each other prevented them making any effective alliance against the white men.

Another factor, which had much to do with the success of the colony, was the trade carried on with these Indians. The effect of this traffic, trifling as it may seem, was of critical importance, for the Indians, de-

sirous of acquiring the white man's goods, entered into rival competitions which kept them friendly with the whites, but made them more hostile towards each other. It was because of the Indian's non-appreciation of the value of organization, the ever-prevailing tribal jealousies, and the white man's shrewdness in turning this strife of Indian against Indian to his own account, that the red men, although they greatly outnumbered the white settlers, were never able to wage successful warfare against them.

The homes of these Indians were generally on the banks of ponds or on portage paths between streams, where they would often have small forest strongholds to protect their fishing rights. In their wigwams there was no thought of cleanliness. Their bodies were filthy with vermin, and, with their wild, untrammelled natures, they saw little in civilized life to make them desire to change their ways of living. In summer the clothing of the men was the pelt of some wild animal fastened around the waist, and in winter a larger skin, the squaws at all seasons wearing skins reaching from the neck to the knees. These people, although they were kind and hospitable to friends, were merciless to enemies, no cruelty being too severe to inflict upon a captive. When among strangers, they were dignified and reserved, and too proud to exhibit curiosity or emotion. In intelligence they were far above savages; their tools and implements were admirably adapted to their uses; their boats have never been excelled; and in

the use of fire-arms they soon equalled the best of white hunters as marksmen.

With this type of people the Plymouth colonists were surrounded. The settlers found in them formidable antagonists, yet, because these Plymouth colonists were always fair in their dealings with them, they never suffered from that desultory warfare afterwards so often waged against the frontier settlers in the South and Middle West. With a people of the intelligence of these Cape Cod Indians there was no thought of slavery. Consequently, the Plymouth colonists were saved from the temptations and dangers which would have come from contact with a more servile race. Because the Indians stubbornly contested every step of progress, it developed in the Pilgrims those qualities of endurance and bravery so essential in nation-building and gave to them those staying qualities which later enabled them and the other New England colonists to present a solid front to the mother country. The men of Jamestown had succumbed to far less hardships, but religious convictions had so nerved the Pilgrims to the grim task which they believed God-given that they successfully accomplished what few would have dared to attempt. It was the need of these sterling qualities, which was lacking among the leaders of the southern colonists, that made the early Virginia settlements failures.

Only casual glimpses have come down to us of the every-day life of these Plymouth emigrants during

their pioneer days. We know that they had poultry, goats, and swine, but no cattle or sheep; that Indian corn was their only bread food; and that in 1622 and 1623, although there was a scarcity of corn, they had fresh fish, lobsters, and clams, so that Winslow wrote home in November, 1621, "By the goodness of God we are so far from want that we often wish others partakers of our plenty." We know that wild grapes, huckleberries, and strawberries grew plentifully, but, as the art of preserving fruits was not then understood, these fruits were to be had only during the summer and autumn. We know that their breakfast was generally corn-meal bread and fish of some kind and their dinner bean soup, baked beans and pork, or fish, lobsters, or clams, with such vegetables as peas, squash, turnips, parsnips, and onions, and occasionally venison, wild ducks, and wild turkey. After the first few years, butter and cheese were plentiful, and, as tea and coffee were then unknown to Europeans, beer was the universal beverage, the older children being allowed to drink it with their elders. We know that in place of plates they used wooden dishes called trenchers, and in place of cups and saucers wooden bowls. As table forks were then unknown,—although large forks were used in cooking,—all ate solid food with their knives, and in place of forks used their fingers, as was the custom in those days.

In the earlier days the men generally wore coarse canvas and corduroy clothing or oiled leather and buck-

skin, only the more prosperous having coarse homespun. But on Sundays all wore knee-breeches, long stockings, and buckled shoes. The growth of the different Massachusetts settlements and the passenger traffic between England and her colonies soon brought the Plymouth settlers into closer contact with advancing civilization, and it was not long before the wives and daughters of the settlers discarded the sombre Quaker-like dresses so often described, and wore colored silk plush gowns, "red cotes," laced neck-cloths, wimples and veils, and on special occasions wore ear-rings, chains, bracelets, brooches, rings, "coiffeurs with long wings," elaborate hoods, mufflers, and silk bonnets. The men, too, changed their style of dress, and instead of having only their soldier uniforms and sentinel armors to choose from, had "suites of dublett and hose of leather lyned with oyleeskin leather which were fastened with hooks and eyes instead of buttons," "waistcoats of greene cotton bound about with red tape," "breeches of oiled leather," "read knitt capps, gloves of sheeps and calfs leather," gold belts, and "points" at the knees. After a while hooped petticoats, embroidered gloves, "bonnets trimmed with sixteen yards of ribbon," laced hoods, and mantles finally came in vogue for the women, and the men rivalled these fashions by wearing velvet coats, broadcloth and satin knee-breeches, embroidered three-cornered hats, and "full bottomed wigs." With the change in social life, social distinctions began to appear.

These were based on birth, service to the State, ability, education, and, to some extent, wealth. The older families also made some pretensions to social superiority over the new-comer, and, although the people were by public opinion now separated into classes, class distinction never became so sharply drawn as in the Massachusetts Bay colony.

On account of religious freedom which had been the basis of all the Massachusetts settlements, there had emigrated to New England many ministers. These men, by reason of their high moral qualities and strong personal traits, had so deeply impressed themselves upon the people that they became the real leaders and the real makers of the laws. The minister's house, the store, the blacksmith's shop, the tavern which was usually kept by some leading man of the community, and a grist-mill and saw-mill which was on some stream close by, became the nucleus around which each neighborhood grew into a village, the houses generally being along a single street lined with elm-trees. As these villages grew in population and the inhabitants became more prosperous, houses with spacious rooms and large fireplaces were built, these houses where model housewives kept everything scrupulously clean, and prided themselves on their highly polished pewters and brasses, being typical of those times.

The Indians had long been a part of the community of every village, and in 1663 fifteen hundred Indians had professed faith in the Christian religion. In both

the Massachusetts Bay and the Plymouth colonies African slavery had long existed, and in both colonies negroes were bought and sold as slaves the same as in Southern States. Almost all of those, however, held in slavery in Plymouth, became house servants, and none were treated harshly, as slavery was generally discouraged. Nevertheless, not until just before the Revolutionary War did anti-slavery ideas begin to appear, and not until that time did the colonists see in slavery anything to shock their moral sense.

As none of the larger streams had bridges, travel was by horseback, and wheeled vehicles were seldom seen, except in the larger towns. Husking and spinning bees, quilting and darning parties, and an occasional house-raising were the principal forms of amusement. Cider, Jamaica rum, and "flip"—which was made of home-brewed beer with a liberal dash of Jamaica rum—were the favorite beverages, and, although there was some drunkenness, it was never as common as in the other colonies.

Notwithstanding the people were kind and hospitable, there was always a lurking disapproval of any sort of amusement, and toward strangers a coldness and reserve in spite of the inquisitiveness which is still a peculiar characteristic of New England people. Patient, frugal, and industrious, they obeyed the word of God as they understood it. Their thin, sharp features rarely relaxed into smiles, and their faces reflected the stern religion of their hearts.

Town meetings, where the settlers met to decide the affairs of the community, were held annually on the first Tuesday of March. At these meetings voting and office-holding was not restricted to church members, as those of other sects or of no sect, who adhered to the essentials of Christianity and were ready to conform to the local laws and customs of the colony, were allowed to vote,—a liberality far in advance of the Bay colony. These town meetings, which were the basis of their civil government, were at first merely an assembly of the members of the church, as nearly all the early colonists were members by profession and covenant. By assembling together to discuss and determine their civil matters, they simply made another advance in their Congregational independence. Yet this method of self-government by which the people had full power to do everything essential for their comfort, happiness, and well-being, was at that time unique,—a form of government which afterwards became the model of the other colonies and the groundwork of the civil liberties of the United States.

Although they had fled from the laws of England, they affected no disregard for the wisdom and learning of their ancestors, following, when possible, the English laws; yet the laws now passed were based upon the Bible, and were often in bold defiance of customs immemorial and of forms made sacred by antiquity. With no pretensions to a more perfect knowledge of man's true social condition than that which prevailed

at home, they determined to make laws suited to their own special needs and conditions, and instituted a process of legal reforms which were radical, yet conservative.

In their earliest forms of legal procedure the governor and his council decided all civil disputes. Later a regular court was established, and in all criminal cases, as great publicity was given to all forms of punishment, gibbets, stocks, ducking-stools, pillories, and whipping-posts became familiar objects. Finally, when the colonies became united, colonial courts were established with colonial judges, justices of the peace and commissioners being appointed by colonial authority to try small cases in the different towns.

As Congregationalism was the keynote of the colony, the people believed that they had the right, according to their understanding of the Scriptures, to choose and ordain their own ministers. The real basis, therefore, of their dispute with the Established Church was, "Who makes the ministers?" It was because of this belief that the doctrine of Congregationalism crystallized into a church constitution that no church ought to have more members than could conveniently watch over one another; that every church should consist of only such persons as believe in and obey Christ; that any number of persons, if their consciences so directed them, had a right to embody themselves into a church; that, having formed themselves into a church, they had the right to choose all their officers; that the officers

should be: first, pastors, or teaching elders, who were to administer the sacraments and devote themselves to the spiritual needs of the parish; second, ruling elders, or presbyters, who were to have charge of the parish; and, third, the deacons, who were to take care of the poor, to look after the finances of the church, and to minister at the Lord's Table. As the church officers only ruled and administered with the consent of the members of the church, no church or church officer had any power over any other church. As each church was, therefore, independent in its work, it had absolute authority to admit, expel, or censure its members, and, because the people believed that they themselves and not the building in which they worshipped were the church, their places of worship were called meeting-houses, and not churches.

These church societies were composed not only of those who made confession of a moral and spiritual new birth or conversion—these, strictly speaking, being the church—but also of those who attended public worship and paid their taxes, these latter being known as the parish. These two bodies ruled the society, neither acting independently of the other on important matters. In the appointment or dismissal of a minister the initiative had to be taken by the church, but the action of the church had to be sustained by the vote of the parish. Not unnaturally, therefore, the church came to stand for what was conservative in the life of the society, and the parish for what was

progressive. Consequently, the records show that the tendency of the church was to become rigid and narrow, and to bear hard on neglect of worship as well as on the most innocent forms of amusement, and that the tendency of the parish was to lighten ecclesiastical discipline for a larger personal liberty. Friction consequently became inevitable. Each, however, helped the other, and, notwithstanding the fact that the church was dogmatic and imperious, it set the stamp of sacredness upon church life, and by its determination to lead, and not be led, did not permit what was intended to be a Christian commonwealth to shrink into a merely secular corporation.

In analyzing the lives of these people, there is no more distinguishing characteristic than their reverent observance of the Lord's Day. We read of one Plymouth man being put in the stocks for going to his tar pits on Sunday; of another receiving the same punishment "for driving his cows without need" on Sunday; of Aquila Chase and his wife being fined "for gathering peas from their garden on the Sabbath"; of William Ester, ten shillings for "Racking Hay on the Lord's Day"; of a Wareham man, five shillings "for a breach of the Sabbath in pulling apples"; and of a Dunstable soldier, four shillings "for wetting a piece of an old hat on the Sabbath to put in his shoe" to protect his foot. Not content with the strict observance of the Sabbath, work ceased at three o'clock Saturday afternoon, and Saturday evening was spent at home

in catechising the children and "in preparation for the Sabeth as the minister shall direct." On Sunday the time after sunset, however, was often given to merry-making, but the sudden transition from the religious calm and quiet of the afternoon generally shocked the minister, who from sunset on Saturday until Monday morning did not shave or allow in his house beds to be made, food to be cooked, or cooking or table ware to be washed.

To carry out a strict observance of the Lord's Day, there was appointed in every community a unique kind of officer known as the "tithing-man," whose function, as the name implies, was to have ten families under his charge and "to diligently inspect them that they regularly come to meeting on the Sabbath," and, if necessary, to keep them awake with a fox-tail wand while there. He had also to see that the catechism was learned by the children of his ten families, and, when he thought it necessary, to hear them say it. In addition to these duties he was obliged to make complaint of all idle persons, "profane swearers," and Sabbath breakers, and to warn tavern-keepers not to sell intoxicating drinks to such men as, in his judgment, had had sufficient already; "to see that no young persons walked abroad on the eve of the Sabbath, and to report all those who profanely behaved, lingered without the doors at meeting time, strutted about, set on fences, or otherwise desecrated the day." In case of conviction the culprit was first admonished, and then,

if incorrigible, put into the stocks which stood on the meeting-house green. This close surveillance of the life of the community, which existed in all the New England towns, has often been called the Puritan theocracy of New England, and it has no doubt done much to associate with these people the idea of narrowness and intolerance. Yet, notwithstanding it honestly endeavored to enforce religious observances and the moralities of life by external restraint, it at length became repellent to the people, and was gradually given up in all the settlements.

During the early years the social centre of the village life in every community was the meeting-house, and, although public opinion as well as church authority compelled church attendance, most of the settlers, being scattered on lonely farms, were glad to meet together on Sunday, not only to hear the sermon, but also to get the local news of impending marriages, of cattle lost or found, of bounties to be paid for the heads of wolves, of fishing vessels about to sail, and of town meetings to be held. As these meeting-houses were also used for the town meetings, town notices, orders, and regulations were always posted on the doors. At first these buildings were log houses thatched with grass. The casement windows were covered with oil paper, and the beaten earth was the only floor. Inside everything was of the simplest kind. At the further end was the high pulpit, reached by a narrow flight of stairs; and the seats for the congregation were rows of long,

narrow, and uncomfortable benches on legs, which made them look like milking-stools, the women and children sitting during the service on one side of the building, and the men on the other.

As the villages grew in population, "good roomthy meeting houses" took the places of these earlier buildings, which were now used for granaries, storehouses, or "noon houses" for the mid-day luncheons before the sermon in the afternoon,—a use not considered sacrilegious, as these buildings had never been consecrated. These new meeting-houses were generally square wooden buildings, having pyramidal roofs with belfries at the apex, each belfry having a bell, if the parish could afford it, and, when there was no bell, the people were called to worship by blowing a horn or a conch-shell or by beating a drum. Seldom were these buildings painted, as painting a building was considered vain and extravagant. The people, fearing forest fires, had cleared the land around the meeting-houses of all trees, and on these meeting-house greens were the village stocks, pillories, and whipping-posts; also horse blocks of large hewn logs for the use of the parishioners, who with their wives came to church on sturdy farm horses, having perhaps a young child on a pillion strapped behind the saddle.

In the course of time the interiors of these meeting-houses were made more pretentious, the pulpits being often panelled with carved mahogany, and having over them large sounding-boards, held in position

by slender cords seemingly ready to break at any time and let the sounding-board crush the minister, like a great extinguisher. "Spots for peus" were now sold to such influential men as wished to sit by themselves, and soon families of wealth had family pews with seats on three sides and with such high partitions that, when the occupants were seated, only the tops of the tallest heads could be seen. Next "box like pews" were built for the whole congregation, and, after many heated discussions in every church, the men and women who did not own pews were allowed to sit "promiscuouslee." On a platform in front of the pulpit there was now a large square pew where the deacons sat, facing the congregation, and on either side of the pulpit "the fore-seat," which only persons of importance in the community were allowed to occupy. In the gallery over the entrance were the singers' seats, and just inside the door the soldier's seat, where there was always an armed sentinel, so that the safety of the community would never be overlooked.

On Sunday morning the congregation either waited outside the meeting-house for the arrival of the minister and his wife or they arose in their pews while the parson in his black skull-cap and Geneva cloak entered the pulpit. During prayer it was the custom to stand, as kneeling and bowing the head was thought to savor of Roman idolatry. In the earlier days these straight-laced settlers were allowed to smoke their pipes during the service, but this was at length given up on account

of the too frequent striking of flint and steel. Soon after this prohibition four old sea-dogs of Yarmouth were fined five shillings each "for smoking tobacco around the end of the meeting-house."

As the minister played an important part in the lives of the people, it was often customary, in laying out a new town settlement, to set aside for the minister's use some of the best land near the meeting-house, this sometimes being given to him outright, and sometimes being set aside as "ministry land." In fixing the salaries of the ministers, the colonists did not forget their week-day shrewdness, and always made the stipend of their clergymen small. With this small salary, however, there were always several perquisites, Plymouth at one time voting that "where God's providence shall east any whales [upon the shore] that they shall agree to set apart some parte of every such fish or oyle for the Incoragement of an able and godly minister among them"; in 1665 voting that "one of the townsmen be appointed to procure his necessary wood"; and in 1666 that "the Towne agreed to alow unto Mr. John Cotton [the minister] the sume of eighty pounds out of which said sume hee is to find and provide for himselfe firewood without any charge of the towne, the manner of the pay to be one-third pte thereof in wheat or butter and one-third in Rye or Barley or pease and the other third in Indian Corne." In addition to his salary free pasturage was also given the minister's horse, and for this purpose

the village burial-ground was generally assigned, in Plymouth the Rev. Chandler Robbins being requested "not to have more horses than shall be necessary on Burial Hill."

A school for the education of the children had early been established in Plymouth, and in 1662 the General Court enacted that each municipality should "have a schoolmaster set up," the teacher receiving his pay from the parents of the scholars. Subsequently, in 1670, the General Court offered to any town "the fishing excise from the Cape which should keep a free school, classical as well as elementary," Plymouth in 1671 voting that out of the money received from the fishing tax to employ a suitable person "to teach the children and youths of the towne to Reade and write and Cast accounts."

As Plymouth was the capital and the largest town of the colony and as many people from the surrounding country were always there both for business and pleasure, it was voted in 1668 that, because of the complaints "that many horses are rid and driven threw the Towne by strangers . . . in a disorderly way," a committee be appointed "to take notice of such horses as are soe carryed threw the Towne and are hereby inpowerd to examine such strangers whether they have a passe for them . . . and if not to seize on them and forthwith to bring them before some of the magistrates of this jurisdiction for tryal"; and that "the celect men shall hensforth have full power to

Require any that shall Receive any stranger soe as to entertaine them in their house to give cecuritie unto them to save the Towne harmless from any damage that may acrew unto them by their entertainment of such as aforesaid."

In 1668 there being in Plymouth only forty-eight freemen, or those who held proprietary rights in the common lands of the town, it was voted "that only such be deputed Townsmen that were Inhabitants and ffreeholders thereof att that time when as the court allowes it to be a Township [1640] and their successors and that it shall be at their libertie to admitt such others into such their society as are housekeepers of honest life and are like to approve themselves soe as they may be beneficial to the commonwealth according to their capacitie and abilities." At this meeting nineteen others were made freemen, making now sixty-seven proprietors of the town. As these proprietors were the only ones who could vote on matters affecting the property of the town, they frequently voted to themselves the benefits which accrued from such ownership, in 1671 voting "that there shalbe noe Tarr made by any persons but such as are Townmen or their order and that there shall be noe pyne knots picked or Tarr Run or made within this Township by any person but by such as are the proprietors as aforesaid or their order and that any such proprietor or his order may make ten barrells of Tarr by the yeare and noe more"; it being also voted "that

whatsoever whole or pte of a whale or other great fish that will make oyle shall by the Providence of God be Cast up or Come on shore . . . two ptes of three thereof to belonge and appertaine to the Towne, viz., the proprietors aforesaid, and the other third pte to such of the Towne as shall find and Cutt them up and try the oyle provided they be of said proprietors that doe soe find and cut up and try them and in case any other that are not proprietors as aforesaid whether Inhabitants of this towne or forrangners shall find any such Whale or ffish and bring word or give notice thereof to the Towne they shall be sufficiently satisfied for the same."

The same year a "fulling" mill for thickening wool into felt was built at the mouth of the Town Brook near the grist-mill. Notice was also given to the owners of the grist-mill that they must provide a building for the corn brought there, that "persons be not wronged on that behalf as they have been or otherwise the towne will procure another mill to be sett up." Blackbirds becoming again troublesome, it was voted, in 1673, that "every man in the town shall procure twelve black birds, six of them by the first of June next and six of them by the first of October next on payne of paying a fine of two shillings." It was also voted that "whereas Great Complaint is made of much abuse by the feeding of neat Cattle and horses in the ffresh meddows belonging to severall of the Towne of Plymouth . . . it shalbe lawfull for any that shall find such Cattle and horses soe tresspassing to bringe them to the

Towne pound and that the owners of such cattle or horses shall pay for every neat beast two shillings and for every horse kind five shillings." It was also "ordered by the Towne that the Celect men of the Towne be Impowered to Call such younge men and others as live Idelely and disorderly to an account for theire mispending theire time in ordinaryes."

In 1677 a bounty of ten shillings for every wolf killed was voted. In 1679 an appropriation was made for sweeping the meeting-house and ringing the bell, and in 1681 "that the money due from Mount Hope shall be used in repairing the meeting house or for building a new one." Among other votes passed was one "that no housekeeper or other in this Towne Residering shall entertaine any stranger into theire house above a fortnight without giving information to the Celect men upon the forfeiture of ten shillings a weeke . . . and in case the Celect men see cause . . . to expell them out of the Towne." In 1682 it was voted "that in building the new meeting house" "the length there of is to be forty foot, and the breadth 40 foot and 16 foot in the wall . . . and to finish the same with seats, Galleryes &C." It was also voted that "a committee be appointed by the Towne to Grant Tickets according to Law in such Case provided unto such as are Nessessitated to travell on the Lord's Day in case of danger of death or such like nesisitous occasions."

In 1684 it was voted that "the King's highway throughout our Township be layed out"; in 1695, that

it be permitted to kill "6 Crows in the Rome of 12 black birds for each house holder"; in 1702 "That every ffreholder That hath ben soe for six years last past That hath not had 30 ackers of land Granted to them by the Inhabitants of the Town within 20 years last past shall have 30 acres of land paid forth to them out of the Commons belonging to sd Towne"; in 1710, that a bridge be built over Stony Brook at Kingston "of about three logs breadth"; in 1711, that a piece of land be laid out "for a perpetual Common or training plase" and another piece "for publick use to make bricks up"; in 1712, that permission be granted "to plant oysters in avery place or places with in sd bay as they shall judg most likely for the groath and increase of oysters"; in 1715, that seats in the meeting-house be assigned to negroes and Indians.

In 1727 it was voted "that there be Encouragement given to those persons that shall kill any wild cats within the Township of Plymouth and that ten shillings shall be paid per head"; also "that there be an Alms House built for the Entertainment of the Poor of the town"; in 1729, that every householder in the thickly settled parts of the town must have near his house a hogshead or two barrells or have a cistern, the same to be kept full of water; in 1730, "that there be the sum of fifty pounds raised to help support the Charges of our Agency in England in defence of our privileges"; also that there be a committee who "shall take care that the children and youths in the Town of Plymouth may

be well regulated on the Lord's day"; also "to Procure us a new Bell for the Meeting House and if necessary to send home to England for one"; in 1733, "that the Meeting House be repaired where it is needful and particularly to do something about the Deacons seat"; in 1742, "to accept the Reports of the Committe Relating to ye Erecting a Breast work and Platform on Coles Hill"; in 1744, "that wherebye Meeting Houses are endangered by Being set on fire and consumed it is hereby voted that each person Leaving his or her stove in any of the Meeting Houses in sd Town after the People are all gone (But ye Saxton) shall forfeit & Pay ye sum of Five shillings."

In 1754 it was voted in reference to an "Excise Bill passed by the House of Representatives & the Counsell Respecting an Excise upon Private Familyes for Rum, Wine & C consumed therein . . . that ye sd Bill is disagreeable to the Town as it appears unequal and unjust and has a Tendency to Destroy ye natural Rights and Privileges of Every Individual In the Government"; in 1768, that "the Representatives be Directed to Endeavor all in his power at the General Court to prevent an Excise being layd on Spiritous Liquor in this Province"; in 1769, "to Dig a Well fourteen feet, to be for the Common Use of the town"; in 1770, "to build a powder house for the town's powder & for private property"; in 1771, to allow a mill to be built on the Town Brook for "the leather dressing business or that of manufacturing deere skins & sheep skins"; in 1772,

that there be an order obliging "traders and other Inhabitants of said Town to store their powder in the powder house"; and "that the Selectmen Get a new bell for the school house, the old one being broak."

With the War for Independence now approaching, it was voted in 1774 "to have a Watch Kept in this town, called a Constable Watch"; also that the town clerk "enter in the town records the names of such persons as shall by the province be considered & published as rebels against the State"; on January third, 1775, that "each of the minnet men be allowed four pence for each time they meet for Exercise which makes one shilling per week"; on January twenty-seventh, "to procure fifty Good Guns & bayonets for the town use and that the town will procure two drums for their use, at Presant to be lent to the Minnet Companys in this town." Later, on March twentieth, it was voted "that Considering the alarming Circumstances of our publick affairs it is not expedient for the fishing vessels to sail now"; also "to build a breast work for firing the Cannon in this town and to purchase thirteen hundred of cannon shot of various sizes"; on July twenty-seventh, "to erect a Beacon on Monks Hill to be an alarm to the neighboring towns in case this town should be attacked by their enemies"; on August fourteenth, to purchase all the powder in town, and "to engage a number of persons to take care of the Battery & the Guns"; on January twenty-ninth, to appoint a committee "to make Experiments & find

out the easiest method to make Saltpeter," and to confer with the neighboring towns "in Petitioning the General Court to build a fort for the defence of this town and harbour"; on February twelfth, "to petition his Excellency Generall Washington Desiring him to assist us to build a fort for the defence of this harbor."



THE FIRST WASHING DAY

CHAPTER XXVII

A PEOPLE OF DESTINY

Up to the time when the Plymouth settlement was made, the notion had prevailed in England that her colonies could only be utilized profitably to clear the mother country of jail-birds and paupers. To this plantation, however, it was left to demonstrate that only the honest and the thrifty could work out the salvation of a wilderness, and more than one historian has noticed that every attempt to colonize any part of New England had failed until these Pilgrims began a settlement based upon a profound sense of duty and a steadfast reliance upon God.



NATIONAL MONUMENT TO OUR
PLYMOUTH FOREFATHERS

Never before had a colony like this one been founded, and during the colonial days of the United States there was no colony which did not acknowledge the difference between its own settlement and this one, which in the eyes of the whole world was regarded with a certain reverence. This was because these May Flower Pilgrims were a band of religious exiles with none of that restless spirit of the adventurer or that desire for wealth which had thrilled so many other colonists.

With them it was simply a desire to have a home under the English flag, where they and their children could enjoy religious freedom and free institutions.

They had sailed for the New World without a royal charter from their king, without any useful grant from any corporate body, without any ecclesiastical head but one of their own choosing, and without a civil head in any form, the colony having its first charter when it united with the Massachusetts colony. In the new country they had established that relation between Church and State which exists to-day in the American Republic—a free Church and a free State, each separate and independent of the other. Although the salaries of the ministers were voted annually at the town meetings, the Church only looked to the State for protection, and in its turn the State only called upon the Church to quicken and enlighten the moral sense of the people. Each was a distinct body, and, although most of the colonists were members of both Church and State, it was clearly understood that of one body the head was Christ, and of the other, King James.

In Holland these Plymouth Fathers had, without complaint, suffered such hardships as came to them, and had willingly crossed the ocean to settle on the borders of an unexplored country, inhabited only by Indians. Here they were ready, if necessary, to be martyrs to their faith, well knowing that, if death should come, it must be met without any stimulating applause and approbation. They had come to this unknown

world because their religion had gripped their consciences, and their consciences would not let them feign satisfaction with things as they were or tacitly consent to what they believed untrue. Owing to the depths of their convictions, they had separated from the Church of England, and had endured for weeks all the terrors of the ocean in a leaking boat, in a cabin crowded almost to suffocation. They had arrived at Cape Cod poorly equipped and scantily provisioned, but with a dogged religious determination to make their colony a success. In their unrestrained zeal there was nothing too dangerous to undertake. For dangers already escaped they gave reverent thanks to their God, and dangers to come they were ready to face with an infinite trust in their Maker.

Their one inspiring hope had been that religious freedom, which in the Old World had been stifled in its conflicts with the corruptions of accumulated ages, might find a foothold in the New. This was the incentive that brought them to America, and in it there were all the elements of ideal heroism, for they were willing to sacrifice for their religion every valued association with their mother country. Acting without a charter, they worked out their career under an elective system of government, and their settlement, being well established before others were undertaken, became a model for later colonists. Who, then, can deny that the courage and enterprise which they showed was the determining element which decided that all-important

question of their time, namely, whether the French or the English were to predominate in the western hemisphere?

The story of their lives gives us a bit of history as rich in events and as interesting and romantic as any in the annals of our race. In the trial of new ideas and in the experiments which they made for free institutions, they took a leading part. In the beginning of their struggle they had said that "they were sensible that the heavy hand of God was upon them," and, when we recall the great odds against which they successfully battled, we rightfully call them Pilgrim Fathers. If their history after the landing on Plymouth Rock had been blotted out, or, if after their second or their third winter on the New England coast the book had been closed, what social economist is there who would not say that theirs was the rashness of children fighting against obstacles too great to overcome? The resolution and courage with which, in their loyalty to their God, these unlettered men were willing to face the uncertainties of an unknown country for the vindication of a great human right, shows that they were men of a singularly strong and sturdy type,—men who have given us a free religion and a civil government unexampled in any previous period of human existence. These sterling qualities inherited by their children have given us the New England type of people, and "the children unto the third and fourth generation" have in turn carried the

New England idea of education and of local self-government westward to the Pacific Ocean.

Although their religion was their master impulse, there was always with it the saving grace of sound common sense. Although they had exiled themselves to make a stand for religious liberty, the events of their lives, when linked together, show that underneath was a belief in some fundamental law that all men are equals, and that they should enjoy whatever rights and privileges belong to mankind in common. The compact made in the cabin of the *May Flower*, when equal rights were given to all, the division of the land and cattle by lot, and the preamble to their first code of laws, all show how firmly they believed in this fundamental principle. Free inquiry into matters of religion, instead of meaning the right of the laity to read the Bible and to interpret it as one's conscience dictated, developed into a right to make independent search into everything which had to do with human thought and human life, and, because they insisted upon this right, the world will ever be their debtor. This is the inheritance which they left to their children, and which, more than all else, has made our country respected by every other nation.

In studying their lives, one cannot but notice how thoroughly they believed they were fulfilling some mysterious destiny, that their successes and failures, their joys and sorrows, their losses and gains, were a part of some plan of their God. Together with this

belief was a faith that their God was personally directing their work, and this gave to them a masterly sincerity, a concentrated enthusiasm, and a courage without limit. In 1617 John Robinson and William Brewster had written Sir Edwin Sandys "We verily believe & trust ye Lord is with us." After the settlement had been made at Plymouth, other incidents fixed the same thought more firmly in their minds. This idea of the personal supervision of God in the every-day occurrences was no new thought of those times. Even Governor Winthrop of the Massachusetts Bay colony had often in his journal attributed current events to supernatural causes, and Captain Johnson, in a book entitled "The Wonder Working Providence of Zion's Saviour in New England," had spoken of Christ as "guiding every shaft that flies, leading every bullet to its place of setting and every weapon to the wound it makes."

Two hundred years before the days of the Pilgrim Fathers, Jean d'Arc had established one of the most astounding facts of known history. Not believed in by those in power, she had been examined by the bishops upon the order of the king, and the bishops had reported that there were more things in heaven and earth than their philosophy had taught them. She had made a strange claim about visions, voices, and a personal contact with the supernatural. Socrates had made the same claim. In the Scriptures, visions and voices, as well as God's personal communion with men, were also

spoken of, and, the God of the Scriptures being the God of these Pilgrims, these people believed that they, too, had spiritual communications from their God.

Unknown to themselves, these Plymouth Pilgrims were the advance-guard of a civilization which was to affect the world. Recalling the events which preceded their emigration, one may fairly ask if it was not a part of some divine plan to have a place prepared for them, and if it was a mere coincidence, when in the year 1602 "several religious people near the joining borders of Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire (Gainsborough) joined themselves by covenant into a church state to walk in all His ways," that Bartholomew Gosnold discovered Cape Cod. Did the interposition of some divine providence prevent Gosnold's intended settlement being made on Cape Cod? Was it predestined that, although it was contrary to their plans, the Pilgrims were to locate outside the limits of their grant, where a pestilence had left no Indian tribe to prevent them making a settlement? Was the supply of seed-corn, which was discovered the day before the winter's freeze-up, "a spetiall providence of God," as Bradford had expressed it? After their first skirmish with the Indians all felt that "it had pleased God to vanquish their enimies, and by his spetiall providence so to dispose that not one of them were either hurte or kilt." Later other events in their lives seemed to show that the hand of some unknown power was working out for them some unknown destiny. Was it chance

that Samoset, the only Indian who could speak a few words of English, had come to them during those critical days, and that Squanto had been on hand to teach them how to plant the corn without which they would have died because of want of proper food? Was it chance that the first winter was unusually mild, and that, had it been otherwise, all would have perished? Was there some reason why they received from John Huddleston, a person unknown to them, his friendly letter of advice which made them take unusual precautions against the Indians? Did Standish, the one man feared by all the Indians, have some monition to keep his men on guard that night at Barnstable when the Indians had secretly plotted to murder them?—a monition which made him at Sandwich, a few days later, restlessly pace all night back and forth before his camp-fire, not knowing that an Indian was in the camp ready to kill him as soon as he fell asleep, a monition which he often afterwards said he was unable to explain. Was it chance that, when these Plymouth people prayed for rain from sunrise to sunset, in their fort-church on the hill, rain came in abundance? Were the colonists wrong in insisting that this rain had come in answer to their prayers, and the Indians in believing that it was because of God's mercy only, that, when there was no signs of rain, suddenly rain had come? Whether we believe or not that every one born into this world has his work born with him, we know that the Pilgrim Fathers had a firmly rooted conviction that

their God had sent them across the Atlantic to fulfil His will, and, whether we believe or not that they were a people of destiny, we must at least admit that many of the events of their lives were out of the commonplace. When the colony was on the point of abandoning the settlement, and an earthquake had shaken the town, they believed that it was a warning from God, and Bradford wrote that "ye Lord would hereby show ye signs of his displeasure." We know that these English yeomen had far less business ability than the other colonists; that Weston and Sherley easily deceived them; that it took them several years to discover the duplicity of Allerton. Yet, notwithstanding all this, their prosperity during those years when their religious convictions were the basis of their lives, was greater than that of any of the other colonists. We know that John Pierce, claiming the Pilgrims' grant as his own, fitted out an expedition to take possession of their country; that the storms which he encountered brought him such losses that he was willing to turn over the grant to the colonists; that the three men who defrauded them—Weston, Sherley, and Allerton—each met with financial disaster. Can we speculate from this that some avenging Nemesis was associated with their destiny?

Believing themselves to be under the guidance of God, these Plymouth Fathers had taken the first steps in changing the heresies of the times into orthodoxies, and, before the contest ended, two great doctrines were

established: one that the ultimate authority of the State was not in the king nor even in the House of Lords nor in the House of Commons, but in the English people; the other that the ultimate authority of the Church was not in the pope, or in prelates, convocations, or synods, but in the Christian people. Their twelve years' residence in Holland had brought them into contact with other sects of Christians, thus giving them a more catholic spirit than that of the Puritans of England. This had made them more liberal in feeling and more tolerant in practice than the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay whose life in England had been embittered by the strife of contending factions in the Established Church. In consequence of this there is now perpetuated, not the aristocratic Congregationalism of the Puritans of the Bay, but the democratic Congregationalism established at Plymouth. From their doctrines of religious freedom Congregationalism has been founded, and from Congregationalism has come our civil form of government. As has been said of these people, "In the pursuit of religious freedom they established civil liberty, and, meaning only to found a church, gave birth to a nation, and, in settling a town, commenced an empire." This will always be their distinguishing work for mankind, for it is not so much what they achieved as what they suggested which has given them fame throughout the world.

The men of the May Flower, by what they dared and suffered, are pre-eminent among those guided by

God's providence in nation-making, but, having lived in the atmosphere of the seventeenth century, they necessarily partook of its narrowness, notwithstanding religious forces were developing in them those sterling qualities which made them able to add much to the world's progress. Judged by the light of to-day, it cannot be denied that they made serious mistakes; that they had a certain intellectual narrowness which showed itself in a foolish contempt for the minor elegances of life, letters, and manners. This was owing partly to the conditions under which they lived and partly to the distance of their settlement from the older centres of civilization. But when all has been said, and due allowance made for all possible drawbacks, there remain those high moral qualities which made it possible for them to establish a colony which became a standard for our later colonies—colonies which have developed from their simple rules of government into a nation with a complex system of government, not yet at the summit of its greatness.

“Winning by inches,
Holding by clinches,
Slow to contention, but slower to quit;

“Now and then failing,
Never once quailing,
Let us thank God for our Saxon grit.”



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